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QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
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KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
DISSENTERS

From the CHARGE of
REBELLION.

And being the AUTHORS of our
CIVIL WARS:

Proving from the most
Authentick Historians ;

- I. That the Unhappy War between K. *Charles I.* and his Parliament began principally upon a Civil and Military, not a Religious Account.
- II. That the most Eminent Leading-Men, who first engag'd in the Parliament Quarrel, were *Conjurers* and Men of Episcopal Principles.
- III. That the *Presbyterians* did oppose that King's Murder
And
- IV. That they did contribute their good Offices towards the Restoration of King *Charles II.*

By JOHN WITHERS.

L O N D O N :

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T H E P R E F A C E.

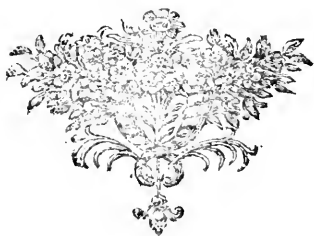


IS now about Nine Years since the greatest Part of these Sheets were publiſ'd in Exon, upon the following Occaſion. There was then a Clergyman in this City, who made it his conſtant Buſineſs to repreſent the Diſſenters, one and all, as implacable Enemies to Monarchy and the Church; to affirm, that 'twas the Hatred of their Forefathers to Biſhops and Common-Prayer, which involv'd the Nation in Blood and Confuſion; that they inherit the ſame furious Principles, and only wait for an Opportunity to repeat the ſame diſmal Tragedies. Theſe Things being frequently inculcated, firſt from the Pulpit, and then from the Preſs; and having a Tendency to exaſperate one Citizen and Neighbour againſt another: I made the following Colleſtion out of our beſt Hiſtorians, as a Preſervative againſt virulent Suggeſtions I juſt now mention'd. This was ſo well received, that the whole Impreſſion was quickly taken off in our three or four Weſtern Counties. And ſeveral Friends being of Opini n, that the ſame may be uſeful in other Parts of the Kingdom, eſpecially about this Time of the Year, when untrue Representa-

P R E F A C E.

tions are sometimes made, and unkind Reflections cast upon such as are willing to live quietly in the Land, I have consented to a second Impression in London. Having now no Personal Quarrel with the Gentleman against whom I first engag'd, I have expunged several Things controverted between us, which I was oblig'd to take notice of in my former Edition; having little or no Relation to the Civil War. Nor have I mentioned his Name; but the Reader may suppose me writing against Mr. A---, or Mr. B---, or against any Man, who shall on the 30th of January impute the same Rebellious Principles and Practises to the Dissenters, as my Friend here in Exeter was wont to do. I have made a few Alterations, such as inserting King George for Queen Anne; and if I can contribute any Thing by what is here offered to unite his Majesty's Subjects, in a hearty Zeal for the Support of his Government and Honour, I have obtained the End I aim at.

Note, The Pages referr'd to in my Lord Clarendon's History, are quoted from the *Folio Edition*.





A

VINDICATION

OF THE

DISSENTERS, &c.



HERE is nothing more usual, than for Persons to *conceal* their *uncharitable Inclinations*, under a *Pretence* of *Loyalty* to their *Prince*, and *Zeal* for the *Publick Safety*. When the obdurate *Jews* pursu'd the *Great Redeemer* of the World with an *Implacable Revenge*, their *Bloody Cruelty* was *disguised* by this *Profession*, That they would have *no King but Caesar*. And when *Tertullus*, that *Merce-nary Tongue-Pad*, was employ'd to Harangue *St. Paul* out of his Life, he could think upon no more probable *Expedient* to prejudice the *Judge* against him, than to describe him as a *Pestilent Fellow*, and a *Mover of Sedition among the People*. Among all the *Calumnies* with which the *Primitive Christians* were oppressed, their *pretended* *Disloyalty* and *Contempt* of *Sovereign Authority* was most usually, tho' *falsly*, objected to 'em. The Truth on't is, the *Princes* and *Grandees* of the World are generally very *Jealous* of their *Rights*; and nothing will prevail with 'em sooner, to make their own *Power* subservient to the *Interests* and *Pas-sions*

sions of other Men, than to persuade them, That the Persons, those *selfish Parasites* accuse or envy, do either *conspire* their *Destruction* or *embrace* those *Principles* which are inconsistent with their Honour. 'Tis the peculiar *Happiness* of the *British Subjects*, that they live under the *Protection* of that Great Prince, who has render'd his Name as *Illustrious* by the *Moderation* of His *Government*, as by the *Terror* of His *Arms*. A King whose *Beams* of *Royal Bounty*, like those of the *Sun* are *free* and *unconfined*; who *consults* the *Universal Welfare* of All His *Subjects*; who will not *lend* His *Power* to one part to *oppress* the other, but *Nobly scorns* to be made so *vile a Tool* to *Biggotry* and *Party Faction*.

WHEN the *Dissenters*, for these last thirty Years have behaved themselves so *Peaceably* towards the *Civil Government*, that they cannot *truly* be accused of making the *least* Approach towards a *Treasonable* or *Disloyal Combination*, it might be very well expected, that such a *Conduct* should have *blotted out* those *Unkind Impressions*, which the *Rage* and *Fury* of a *CIVIL WAR* had made in some Mens Minds; And I doubt not, but that the *Better* and *Wiser part* of the *Establish'd Church* cease to be *prejudiced* against us upon that Account. But 'tis too evident, That there is a *Faction* in the Kingdom, who, if they cannot *fetch* down Fire from *Heaven* to *Consume* us, will *borrow* a Spark from *Hell* it self, not sticking at the *Basest Lies* and *Calumnies*, to inspire the Minds of their too *Credulous Disciples* with an *Infernal Rage* and *Fury*. Amongst all those who have of late Years appeared as *Champions* for the *High Church Cause*, there is not one who has made a *more resolute* and *bold Assault* upon *Truth* and *Honour*, or has more *despised* those low spirited *Virtues* of *Modesty* and *Shamefastness*, than *This Gentleman*, with whom 'tis my *Misfortune* to be engag'd: When he has nothing, with any *Colour of Reason*, to object against the *Loyalty* of the present Generation, he fluns his *Readers* with the *Eccho* of our late *Intestine Broils*, disturbs the *Aspes* of the *Dead*, arraigns their very *Ghosts*, and *pursues* the *Presbyterians* with a *Malice* more outrageous

ous than the *Grave*, and more *Inplacable* than *Death* it self.

BEING obliged to attend his *Motions* and to review the *Confusions* of the former *Century*, I shall observe the Method he has chalk'd out before me : And in Opposition to what has been so *confiſtently* advanc'd, I shall clearly prove,

I. THAT our *late unhappy War* began (Principally) upon a *Civil*, not a *Religious* Account.

II. THAT the most *Eminent Leading Men*, who first engaged in the *Parliament Quarrel*, were *Churchmen*, for *Bishops* and *Liturgy*.

III. THAT the *Presbyterians* did *Oppose* the Murder of *King Charles*; And

IV. DID very much *contribute* to the *Restoration*, of the *Royal Family*.

WHEN I say, the *War* began upon a *Civil* Account I would be understood to mean, the *War* between the *King* and his *Parliament*, without having any Regard to the *Commotions* in *Scotland*, which were all appeased before the *Flames* broke out in *England*; and the *King* returned from his *Northern Expedition* (as our Author tells us, a *Contented King from a Contented People*.

BUT to give a few *Hints* at that *Affair* : 'Tis evident from our most *Impartial Histories*, that tho' the *Aversness* of that People to the *Liturgy* and *Bishops*, had a considerable Influence on their *Revolt*, 'twas far enough from being the *sole Cause* thereof. *Archbishop Laud* (who govern'd all Things at the *Council Board*, as well as in the *Church*, and who, as a Noble Cavalier expressed it, *destroy'd Unity under a Pretence of Uniformity**) had obtruded upon the Church of *Scotland* such *Bishops* as corresponded best with his own *Humour*, who by their *Insolent* and *Imprudent* Management *disobliged* all sorts of People. The late *Bishop of Sarum* gives us this

* Lord
Faulkland.

Account

Account of the *Scotish Prelates* at that Time : “ Apprehending the Prejudice of that Nation against the *Papists* too High, they endeavoured to lessen it, both in their Sermons and Discourses, mollifying their Opinions, and commending their Persons, not without some Reflection to the Reformers”. This, with their *loose Principles* about the *Lord's Day*, made them *odious* to the Common People as *popishly affected*. The *Nobility* were no less *disgusted* at them, for their *intermeddling* with *State Affairs*; “ Nine of them were Privy Counsellors, divers of them were of the Exchequer; the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews* was Lord Chancellor, and Another stood fair for the Treasury *. Thus their *ambitious grasping secular Employments* exhaled those *Envious Vapours* which condens'd into a Cloud, and at last ended in a Storm, that overwhelmed the whole Order.

WHEN the Nation was thus *distemper'd*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (like an *Impolitick Physician*) prescribed so strong a Dose, that instead of *purging out* these peccant Humours, it put them into a more violent and rapid Motion. By his Advice King CHARLES sent down a *Liturgy*, and a *Book of Canons*; the first to be the *Form* of the *Scotish Worship*, and the latter the *Model* of their *Government*. As for their *Liturgy*, 'twas the same with the *English*, except some *Variations*, which render'd it the more *Unsatisfactory*: But as for the *Canons*, they were some of the *most Extravagant* that ever were imposed upon a *National Church*; I shall only take notice of one of these *Injunctions* recorded by my Lord *Clarendon*, which Commands “ That no Clergyman shall conceive Prayers Extempore, but be bound to pray only by the Form prescribed in the *Liturgy*; which, by the way, (*says my Lord*) was not seen nor framed†. Nay, this *Noble Historian* tells us in the preceding Page, “ That it was not ready in a Year after, or thereabouts.

* *Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs quoted by Russell, Col. pt. 2. p. 392.*

† *Clar. Hist. Vol. I. p. 86.*

Which was, in effect, renewing the *Decree* of the *Persian* Monarch, *That no Man should offer any Petition to the God of Heaven for so long a time.* That these *New Laws* might be *vigorously* executed, the Bishop of *Sarum* tells us, “The *Scotish Prelates*, not satisfied with “the *General High-Commission Court*, procur’d Writs from the King, for the setting up such *Commissions* in their several *Diocesses*, in which, with other “*Assessors*, all of their own *Nomination*, they might “punish *Offenders*†.” When these *Gentlemen* screw’d up their *Authority* so very high, ’tis no great Wonder if the *Strings* broke, and flew about their *Ears*.

BESIDES all this, the *Manner* of obtruding these *Canons* upon the *Scotish Nation*, did as much, if not more, *exasperate* their *Spirits*, than the *Thing* it self. They were *imposed* upon ’em by the *King’s sole Authority*, without the *Approbation* of any *Parliament*: “’Twas a fatal *Inadvertency* (says my *Ld. Clarendon*) “that they had been never seen by the *Assembly*, or any “*Convocation* of the *Clergy*, nor so much as communi- “cated to the *Lords* of the *Council* of that *Kingdom**.” And my *Ld. of Sarum* tells us, ‘That that which heigh- “ten’d all into a *Crisis* was, the *Advising* the *King* to “introduce some *Innovations* in the *Church* by his own “*Authority*†.” ’Tis true, the *Common People* might be *prejudiced* against the *Liturgie* it self, but ’twas that *exorbitant* Power, by which ’twas introduc’d that the *Nobility* and *Gentry* were so *offended* at. ’Tis none of my *Business* to *justify* the *Scotish Tumults*; but this I may *safely* say, That ’tis no great Wonder, if those *bitter Waters* did flow from *such a Fountain* as has been described. We will suppose, for once, that *King WILLIAM* had made use of the *same Authority* in *England*, which his *Grandfather* did in *Scotland*; that he had *imposed* new *Modes of Worship*, without the *Concurrence* of *Parliament* or *Convocation*: Can we imagine, that the *Doctrines* of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* would not have been *once more*

† *Burner’s Memoirs*, &c. and *Rushworth*, pt. 2. p. 393. * *Clar. Hist. Vol.*
 1. p. 84. † *Ibid.* *Rushworth*, pt. 2. p. 392.

exploded? *Nature* would doubtless have been roused a second time, the *Hogan Mogans* must have received their *Old Stadtholder*, and Poor SORREL had lost a KISS.

As I had no Respect to the *Scotish Tumults*, in affirming, That the *War* between *King* and *Parliament* began upon a civil Account; so I had no Design to exclude *Religion* from having *any thing* to do in the matter. 'Tis owned, *Mens Fears* and *Jealousies* of *POPEERY*, did dispose a great many Persons to fight under the *Parliament Banner*: And the Question is, Whether the *furious* Conduct of the *Topping Court Prelates* did not give *too great* Occasion for such *Apprehensions*? I shall only hint a few Things, which are undeniably True as to *Matter of Fact*, and let the Reader judge for himself. *Religion* may be considered, either as it relates to those *Doctrines* we are obliged to *believe*, or those *Virtues* we ought to *practise*; and if we review the *Methods* eagerly pursued by Arch-bishop *Laud*, and some of his *Creatures*, they will look very much like *Violences* intended against it in both these Branches.

As the *English*, ever since the *Reformation*, have been deeply *prejudic'd* against every Thing that savours of *Popeery*; so 'tis very well known, that the *Adoration* given by the *Papal Church* to *Crucifixes*, *Images* and *Relicks*, scandalizes the *Protestants* more than most other Things. I shall not, at present, dispute, Whether it be *Lawful* to set up the *Images* of *Saints*, or of *CHRIST'S Human Nature*, in the *publick Temples*, as so many *Historical Emblems* of what we believe to be *done* or *suffered* by them; but, I am sure, the *Expediency* of such a *Method* may very well be questioned, since *Experience* tells us, they had not long been introduced into the *Christian Church* under this specious Pretence, before they became *Occasions* of a most *Execrable Idolatry* to the *Common People*. Were this otherwise, yet, as *GOD* is a *Spiritual, Invisible Being*, so it is absolutely impossible that his *immense Nature* should be represented by any *Corporeal Figure* whatsoever. *St. Paul* mentions this as a *Crime* in the *antient Pagans*, That they changed the *Glory* of the *incorruptible God*, into an *Image* made like to *corruptible Man*, *Rom. i. 23.*

And

And the present *Roman Catholicks* are condemned for *allowing* such *scandalous* Representations of the DEITY, by all *Protestant Churches*, and by none more than by the *most eminent Divines* and *Bishops* of the *Church of England*. 'Tis not, therefore much to be wonder'd at, if Persons were *alarm'd* at the setting up of *Pictures* and *Crucifixes* in the *publick Temples*, when the *Affair* was prosecuted with so much *Zeal* and *Fervency*, as if the *Substance* of *Christianity* consisted in it. If we consider the *Informations* given in at the Bar of the House of Lords on Oath, at the *Trial* of A-bp. *Lind*, he will be found to be one of those Prelates who, as a Noble Royalist expressed it, " Brought in Superstition and " Scandal under the Titles of Reverence and Decency, " and defiled our Church by adorning our Churches *. No sooner was this *Gentleman* advanced to the Dignity of a *Metropolitan*, and possessed of the Palace at *Lambeth*, but he began to repair those *Pictures*, which, in pursuance of *Qu. Elizabeth's* Injunctions, had been defaced at the *Reformation*, and to *rear up* those *Monuments* of *Superstition*, which, for some Scores of Years, had lain buried and entombed in their own Ruins. Not to mention a large *Crucifix* which hung over the *High Altar*, there was in one Window of his Chappel, the Picture of CHRIST raising up *Lazarus* out of his Grave, and of GOD himself raining down *Manna* from *Heaven*. † In another Window was represented GOD the *Father*, in the Form of an Old Man, with a Glory round about his Head, striking *Miriam* with a *Leprosy*. ‡ And is it any Wonder if *Protestants* were *scandaliz'd* at such Representations as these are? Whilst this *Gentleman* was *Dean* of his Majesty's Chappel-Royal at *White-hall*, he caused a fair Piece of *Arras* to be hung up over the *High-Altar* with a *Crucifix* embroidered with Gold and Silver, the full Length of a Man; and he was the *first* who introduced *bowing* towards it, as Sir *Hen. Mildmay*, an old Servant of the *King's*, deposed on Oath †.

* *Ld. Faulkland*, *vid. Nalson's Collect.* vol. 1 p. 753. † *Prin's Canterbury's Doom*, f. 60. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 6. † *Canterbury's Doom*, f. 67, 68.

IF we take a view of this *Archbishop* as *Chancellor* of the *University of Oxford*, we shall find him keeping the same *Stir and Porter* there, about *Pictures* and *Cringings* at the *Altar*. In *Magdalen-Colledge*, a *Crucifix* was placed over the *Communion-Table*; the same was done at *Lincoln-College*, at *Christ-Church*, and several other *Colleges*.* By his *Authority* and *Influence*, the same *Innovations* were introduced into the *Cathedrals* of *Winchester* and *Canterbury*; and at *Litchfield* a large *Crucifix*, with the *Picture* of *CHRIST* on it, almost as big as a *Gyant*, was hanged over the *High Altar*, with the *Pictures* of *Men* and *Women* kneeling down before it, praying to it.

ADD to all this, that *Dr. Jackson* witnessed on Oath, That the *Archbishop* sent down the *Statutes* to the *Cathedral* of *Canterbury*, which the *Priebs* and *Chapter* were obliged by Oath to obey; by one of which they were enjoined, as they came in or went out of the *Quire*, *adorare versus Altare*, to adore towards the *Altar*. Now when *Crucifixes* were so industriously placed over *Altars*, and *Men* required to make their *Adorations* towards them, 'tis no great Wonder if *Persons* of *seber Principles* disliked those Courses, as favouring too much of *Papish Superstition*. As these *Innovations* were brought in with a *HIGH Hand*, so it was made very penal for any *Person* to move, so much as a *Tongue* or a *Finger*, against them. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in *Mr. Henry Sherfield*, who was *Recorder* of *Salurn*, and a *Justice of Peace* in that City: In the *Church* of *St. Edmonds*, there was a *Window* of old *Painted Glass*, in which *GOD the Father* was represented as an *Old Man* in a blue and red *Coat*, and some *Ancient Women* being demanded, To whom they made their low *Curtesies*? Answer'd, 'Twas to their *Lord God* in the *Glass Window*. *Mr. Sherfield* being offended at this, moved the *Parish* at a *Vestry*, where six *Justices* of the *Peace* were present, That he might have *Liberty* to remove these *Offensive Pictures*, and put up

* *Ibid.* pag. 71. 72. 80.

white Glafs in their room : Which Motion was affented to by all the Parifhioners, and accordingly, fome of thefe *ſcandalous* Representations were broken and pick'd out : For which Offence this Gentleman was *Proſecuted* in the *Star-Chamber diſmiſſed* his *Recorderſhip*, and *Fined* 500 l. Biſhop *Laud* defending theſe Images by *God's* being called the *Ancient of Days*, in the Prophet *Daniel**.

At the *Infigation* of the ſame Prelate, Mr. *John Workman*, a Miniſter in *Gloceſter*, was *ſuſpended* and *Excommunicated* for *preaching* againſt *Images*. And whereas the Corporation of *Gloceſter* had ſettled an *Annuity* of 20 l. *per Annum* on him a little before his Troubles, in Conſideration of his *painful Preaching* and *numerous Family*, the *Mayr* and ſeveral of the *Aldermen*, for this their Charitable Benevolence, were *proſecuted* at the *Council Table* and *High Commiſſion* ; where, after a very chargeable Attendance, their *Grant* was vacated, and they had a *Fine* impoſed upon them †. And ſo *implacable* was the *Archbiſhop's* Animofity againſt this poor *Clergyman*, that he would not permit him ſo much as to teach *School*, or *Practiſe Phyſick*, for the ſupport of Himſelf, his Wife and Children.

ANOTHER Thing which made Men ſuſpect that *Ill Deſigns* were carrying on againſt the *Proteſtant Religion*, was the reſuling *Licenſes* for Printing ſuch Books as *detected* the *Idolatry* and *Superſtition* of the *Church of Rome*. In the Year 1628, I find a Petition from the Bookſellers and Printers in *London*, againſt Dr. *Laud*, at that time *Biſh p* of the *Diocceſs*, complaining, That divers of the ſaid Bookſellers and Printers had been ſent for by *Purſuivants*, for printing Books againſt *Papery*, and inſtanced in ſeveral ſuch Books, which had been denied *License* ; and all this by vertue of a Decree in the *Star-Chamber*, which the Great *Selden* declared to be an *Invaſion* on the *Liberty* of the *Subject* ‡. But all this to no purpoſe, for the Biſhop

* *Ruſhworth's Coll.* 2. p. 153. &c. *Canterbury's Decree*, p. 102. &c.

† *Ibid.* p. 67. ‡ *Ruſhworth's Coll.* 1. p. 667.

carried Things with an *High Hand*, 'till he ran all into Confusion.

WHEN a Stop was thus put to the printing of *New Books*, an Attempt was made to *re-print* some of the most Valuable *Treaties* which had been published by the *Church of England* against the *Papists*; for which the Undertakers were severely threatened by the forementioned *Bishop*, and forced to give over the Project. || And to make *Jure Work*, the *Star-Chamber* issued out a second Decree, forbidding all Persons to *re-print* any Book *formerly* Licensed, without a *New License* first obtained. After the making this Decree, the *Book of Martyrs*, the Works of Bp. *Jewel*, Dr. *Willet*, and others, formerly published by Authority, were *denied* New Licenses.* Mr. *Pryn* gives us a Catalogue of many *Treatises*, written by *Gentlemen* and *Divines* in Confutation of *Popery*, which were not permitted to see the Light; and Dr. *Featly*, who suffered deeply for the *Royal Cause*, was not permitted by the *Arch-bishop* to publish a Volume of Sermons, preached with good Acceptance at *Court* and in the *University*, 'till he had shewn them to his Chaplain, who *expunged* all the *smart* and *masculine* Passages against the *Jesuits* and *Papists*.† Nay, so mighty careful was this great Prelate to *gratify* the *Catholicks*, that he prosecuted Mr. *Gillebrand*, the Mathematical Professor at *Gresham Colledge*, for publishing an *Almanack* in which he inserted the Names of *Protestant Martyrs* out of Mr. *Fox's* Kalendar, instead of those *pretended* Saints which the Pope had canonized: And yet his Favourite Chaplain could License a *scandalous* Book, in which those *Worthies*, who sealed the *Doctrine* of the *Church of England* with their *Blood*, were stigmatized with the *Odious* Names of *Traytors*, *Hereticks* and *Rebels*. || All these things, with many more of a like Nature, were attested at the Bar of the *House of Lords*, by the Oaths of many *Gentlemen*, *Divines* and others.

* *Canterbury's Decm.* p. 183. * *Rushworth Coll.* pt. 2. p. 450. † *Canterbury's Decm.* p. 254. || *Ibid* p. 182, 183.

I leave the *Reader* to Judge, whether all these Things did not look with an untoward *Aspect* upon the *Protestant Religion*, and give too great a Cause for *Fears* and *Jealousies*. I am far from *thinking* that King *CHARLES* was *Popishly inclin'd*, but doubtless, 'twas the great Misfortune of his Reign, that he had such an *high Taintivv Church-Man* for his Prime Minister.

IF we consider *Religion* as to the *Practice* of it, we shall find, that a great deal of Care was taken by this *Zealous Metropolitan*, that the Precepts of *Piety* and *Virtue* might not be too frequently *included* on Peoples *Minds*; nor they too much disturbed in the Prosecution of their *Debaucheries*: For this end, all *Afternoon Sermons* were suppressed with a great deal of Rigour, under pretence of *complying* with his Majesty's *Instructions* of *Catechising*, by way of *Question* and *Answer*; under colour of which, all *Catechisms*, except that in the Common-Prayer, were prohibited, and no *Exposition* at all permitted; such *Exposition* being declared by Bp. *Wren* as *Ill* as a *Sermon*.* Many Ministers were Suspended in the Diocesses of *London* and *Norwich*, for their *Non-compliance* with those Orders: But none declared themselves more *violently* than Dr. *Pierce*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; he gave God Thanks, *That he had not one Lecture left in all his Diocess*. He suspended Mr. *Devenish*, the Minister of *Bridgwater*, for preaching a Funeral Sermon on a Lord's-Day Evening: And convened the Minister of *Beercookham* before him, for having two Sermons on that Parish *Revel-Day*; alleging, *That it was an Hindrance to the Revel, and to the Utterance of the Church Ale*. Mr. *Erford* was summoned before him as a *Delinquent*, for preaching on a *Revel-Day*; on *Jael's Exhortation to Fasting, Weeping and Mourning*; and was told, *That his very Text was scandalous to the Revel*.† And when some Ministers enlarged themselves upon the *Questions* and *Answers* in the Church-Catechism, for the better Instruction of their People, they were *sharply Rebuked* by their *Diocesan*, who told

them, *That it was Catechising, Sermon-wise, and as bad as Preaching.* ||

BUT tho' the People had not the Liberty to *hear two Sermons* in one Day, yet their *Ecclesiastical* Governours were very Indulgent to 'em in other Respects, they might *dance a Jigg*, or *toss a Foot-ball*, on a Sunday; and the poor Country People, who had no *Organ* in the Church, might have a *Fiddle* in the Church-Yard; which, doubtless, was a mighty *Incentive* to *Devotion*, and made 'em rattle over their Prayers, that they might Trip it on the green Grass: The *Occasion* of which *Indulgence* was as follows. The Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* and Baron *Denham* being at the Assizes in *Somerset*, many Persons were Indicted for murdering Bastard Children, begotten at *Wakes* and *Revels*; upon which, the Judges were requested by the Justices of the County, to make an *Order* for *suppressing* these Licentious Meetings: Which accordingly they did, and for which they deserve the *Praises* and *Encomiums* of all good Men. But Abp. *Laud*, belike, had other Apprehensions of the Matter, who complained of the Chief Justice to the King, caused him to be summoned before the Council Table, where he was *Hector'd* and *Insulted*, and (to use his own Words) *almost choak'd with a pair of Lawn Sleeves*; having this mortifying Penance imposed upon him, That he should publicly *revoke* his own *Order*. * When the *principal Gentlemen* of the County were inform'd of this, they drew up a *Petition* to his Majesty, desiring, *That no Encouragement might be given to these Riotous and Lewd Assemblies*: But before it could be presented, the pious *Metropolitan* had prevailed with the King, to issue out his *Declaration* for *Sports* and *Gaming* on the *Lord's Day*. Which was in effect, the opening the *Flood Gates* to all Manner of *Debaucheries*. That this might be a *Snare* to *Conscientious Men*, all *Ministers* were required to read this Declaration in their Churches in Time of Divine Service; and such as

|| Ibid. ? *Canterbury's Decree*, p. 128. &c. *Rushw. Coll.*, pt. 2. p. 191. refused,

refused, lost their Benefices. Sir *Nath. Brent* attested on Oath, *That being the Archbishop's Vicar General, he had express Orders from his Grace, to suspend all such as refused to read this Book of Sports in the Diocess of Canterbury.* ‡ Now, when the devoutest Ministers in the Kingdom were *silenced*, and their Families turned out a *starving*, because they durst not encourage *Dancing upon Sundays*, I leave the World to Judge, whether this was not a mighty Evidence of the *Piety and Charity* of that Blessed Martyr *Laud* ! And whether this might not give too great a Cause to *jealous* and *thinking* Men, to fear lest ill Designs were carrying on against the *Protestant Religion*, if not against *Christianity* it self.

I deny not but there were Pious and Learned Men, who filled the *Episcopal Chairs* at that time, such as Bp. *Hill*, and others ; but 'twas *Laud* and his Creatures who sat at the Helm, and managed all Things in *Church and State*, 'till by their Violence and ill Conduct they ran the Ship among the Rocks : And therefore, we find these *Court Prelates* as bitterly inveigh'd against in Parliament by such as drew their Swords in the *Kings Quarrel*, as by those that fought against him. My Lord *Faulkland* (whose *Loyalty* cost him his *Life*) charges them, " With trying how much
 " of a Papist might be brought in without Popery ;
 " and that 'twas as much as 1500 *l.* a Year could hinder some of them from declaring themselves directly
 " Papists. || I protest (says my Lord *Digby*, an *Early*
 " and *Zealous Royalist*.) I cannot cast my Eyes upon
 " some Church Men who have governed of late, but
 " they appear to me as a Scourge imploy'd by God
 " upon us for the sins of the Nation. * The Pride,
 " Ambition and Oppression of our ill Ruling Clergy
 " is Epidemical," says Sir *Edw. Deering* † ; who yet declared against the *Extirpation* of the *Episcopal Order*. To the same purpose Sir. *Benj. Rudyard*, Mr. *Bagshaw*, and others, delivered themselves, who never

‡ *Canturb. Doom.* p. 148. || *Nelson's Coll.* Vol. I p. 769. * *Ibid* p. 750. † *Ibid* p. 750.

concurred with the rest in their *High Designs* against the King. || The Truth on't is, there were Thousands afraid of *Popish Innovations*, who yet were no Enemies to *Bishops* or *Common-Prayer*.

'Tis own'd there was a *Petition* presented to the *House* by *Fennington* against *Bps.* but the poor *Mechanicks* that *subscribed* it, were not the *Authors* of the *War*: These were not the Men that gave *Commissions* to *Essex*, and his Officers, to fight the *Kings* Army. And if some *Seſtaries* made a Riot in *St. Paul's Cathedral*, 'twas because *Laud* had adjourned the *High Commission* to that Place*. A Court which, by it's *Lawless Tyranny*, had made it self O D I O U S to the whole Kingdom. To bring this Matter to an Issue; I will grant that Mens Fears of *Popery*, and Concern for the *Protestant Religion*, did contribute some Fuel to the kindling those Flames which almost consumed the *Nation*; but it by no means follows, that they were all *Presbyterians* who took the Alarm. I have already hinted at the Zeal which A-bp. *Laud* discovered in letting the *Communion Table* Altar-wise, which formerly stood in the Body of the Church. In this, as well as in several other Innovations, he was opposed by Dr. *Williams*, Bp. of *Lincoln*, who wrote a Learned Treatise against this Practice. The *Ld. Clarendon* makes this *Judicious Observation* on that Controversy: "From this unhappy Subject proceeded
 " upon the Matter a *Schism* amongst the *Bishops*
 " themselves, and a great deal of *Uncharitableness* in
 " the *Clergy* towards one another: For, without
 " doubt, many who loved the *Established Govern-*
 " ment of the *Church*, yet liked not any *Novelties*;
 " and so were liable to entertain *Jealousies*, that more
 " was intended than was hitherto *proposed*, especially
 " when those *Infusions* proceeded from Men unsus-
 " pected to have any *Inclination* to *Change*, and
 " known *Aſsertors* of the *Government* both in
 " Church and State. † Hence 'tis evident, that ma-

* *Rushworth's Coll.* pt. 2. f. 1343. • *Heylin's Life of Laud*, p. 453.
 † *Clarend. Hist.* Vol: 1 pag. 75.

ny Conformists to the *Establish'd Church* suspected the *Design* of Archbishop *Laud*, and his prevailing *Faction*; and of such the Earl of *Essex's* Army was for the most part made up; for I hope *Churchmen* may fight for the *Protestant Religion* as well as *Presbyterians*.

THE *Question* between us is not, whether Mens ill or well-grounded Fears of *Popery*, did in some measure promote the late *unhappy War*; but, whether the principal Cause thereof was the *Hatred* which the *Parliament Party* had to *EPISCOPACY* and *LITURGY*. This is a peculiar *Wining* of our Author, nor is he countenanced in it by any *credible Historian*.

IN Answer to the *Challenge* made me by this Gentleman, to produce any one of the *Remonstrances, Declarations, &c.* in which Religion is not mentioned as the principal Ground of the Quarrel between the King and Parliament, I shall, at present, refer him and the Reader to *Rushworth's Collections*, Pt. 3. Vol. 1. in which are to be found Abundance of *Messages, &c.* between the King and Two Houses, whilst they were whetting of their Swords, which relate only to the *Militia*, and the *Affront* which Sir *J. Hotham* offered to his Majesty, when he shut the Gates of *Hull* against him; and in the Sequel of this *Discourse*, I shall take notice of the *COMMONS* large *Remonstrance*, and the famous *Nineteen Propositions*, in which it will appear (the King himself being Judge) that they desired not the Destruction of the *Common Prayer*.

HAVING premised these Things, I come next to prove, That *Differences* about *Civil Matters* were the most remarkable Causes of the late WAR, and gave Birth to all those monstrous Productions which did ensue upon it.

IF we ask, What 'twas that drew the Sword out of its Scabbard, and made it drunk with the Blood of Thousands; every one will say, 'Twas a mutual Dissatisfaction between the Contending Parties. Dissent is at the Root of all Rebellions; and therefore,

whatever gives Occasion to the *former*, may be truly said to have an Influence upon the *latter*. The *Seeds* of those Distempers, which threw the *Body Politick* into such terrible *Convulsions*, were not presently ripen'd into a *Crisis*. The CAVALIERS and ROUND-HEADS did not, like the *Teeth* of *Cadmus*, on a sudden spring up into *Armies*, ready and prepar'd for mutual Slaughter : Nor can it be supposed that these *Gentlemen* were, like *Mistiffs* or *Game-Cocks*, for picking out each other's Eyes at the very first View. There must be a long Series of *mutual Jealousies* and *Provocations*, before Things could be neighten'd into a *Civil War*.

BEING forced by our Author to review those unhappy Days, I shall be constrained to hint a little at the *Temper* in which the *Nation* generally was, when the Flames at first broke out. Such *Authors* as treat of the *Revolution* of *Kingdoms*, endeavour to discover those *secret Springs* which first set the *Wheels* in motion. My Lord *Clarendon* (in his celebrated History of the *great Rebellion*) spends some Score of Pages in describing those *Causes* which did dispose so many, of all Ranks, to a *Revolt* from their *Natural Sovereign*; and, indeed, without such an *Introduction* his Piece had appear'd without those *Beauties*, which charm and captivate the *Readers*. All our *Historians* agree in this, That when the *Long Parliament* first met, there was an Universal *Murmur* and *Discontent* throughout the *Nation*; which arose, not from a *Prejudice* against *Episcopacy* or the *Common Prayer*, but from *Political* and *Civil Causes*.

'T WAS the Great Misfortune of King CHARLES'S Reign, that he always *dismissed* his *Parliament* *abruptly*, and in a *Pet*, and so sent Home the *Gentlemen* of the *House of Commons* full of *Dissatisfaction*, into their respective *Counties*. And that which heightened the *Disgust*, was, that the *Freedom of Debate*, judg'd now so *essential* to a *Parliament*, was in a manner ravish'd from them : Such as *inveighed* against an *illegal Tax*, or the *Corruption* of a *Court Favourite*, being *prosecuted*, *fined* and *imprisoned*, and a thousand vexatious Methods invented to *oppress* 'em, of which

which we have *many* Instances upon Record *. To which we may add, That the long *Interruption* of Parliament for 12 Years, with the *imposing Taxes* on the Subjects, by Virtue of the *Royal Prerogative*, gave too much Occasion to some to insinuate, as if his Majesty intended to Govern in an *Arbitrary Manner*, and to suppress all such *Contentions* for the future, as the Kings of *France* had lately done in their Dominions. As many Gentlemen had been *prosecuted* for speaking their *Minds* freely in the *Parliament House*; so a far greater Number had been *imprisen'd*, for *refusing* to lend the *Crown* such Sums of *Money* as had been demanded of 'em. Mr. *Rushworth* gives us the Names of about 25 *Knights*, besides abundance of *Esquires*, *Gentlemen* and *Citizens*, who had suffer'd a *tedious Confinement* in divers Parts of the Kingdom for their *Non compliance* with these *illegal Impositions* †. The *Persecution* of these Persons (who were *many* of them of great *Quality* and *Interest*) by the Court, did the more endear 'em to the Country, which had 'em in singular *Esteem* and *Reverence*, as the *Patrons* of *Liberty*, and the *Generous Asserters* of the *Nation's Rights*. When the *Necessities* of the *King's Affairs* oblig'd him to call a *Parliament*, abundance of these Gentlemen were elected to serve therein; who doubtless entered the *Senate House* with Minds *imbittered* by their former *Sufferings*, and full of *high Resentments* against the *Court*. If it be said, *They should have sacrificed their private Animosities to the publick Safety*; I will not deny it. But we must suppose *Humane Nature* more refined than generally 'tis, before we can conclude it not at all *retentive* of those Impressions which *Violence* and *Injustice* make upon it.

THE Observation of my Lord *Clarendon* is exactly to my Purpose: "No Man (says he) can shew me a Source, from whence these Waters of Bitterness, we now taste, have more probably flowed, than from these unreasonable, unskilful and precipitate Dissolutions of Parliament; especially since the

* *Hist. of Eng. Vol. 3. p. 49. 96.*

† *Rushworth's Col. Pt. 1. p. 477.*

“ King had publickly declar’d that he should account
 “ it Presumption for any to prescribe any Time to
 “ his Majesty for Parliaments: Which Words were
 “ generally interpreted, as if no more Assemblies of
 “ that Nature were to be expected *.” And is it any
 Wonder if such Apprehensions as these created an
 Uneasiness in People’s Minds, or alienated their Af-
 fections from a Prince, who was otherwise deserving
 their Respects ?

I CONCEIVE that the peculiar Privileges of an
English Subject consist in these three Things; 1. That
 he cannot be tax’d without his own Consent by his
 Representatives in Parliament. 2. That new Laws
 cannot be enacted, nor old Ones repeal’d, without
 the Concurrence of King, Lords and Commons.
 3. That he cannot be depriv’d of his Liberty without
 a Cause shown, and a Possibility of Relief; nor of his
 Life without a fair Tryal. These are the distinguish-
 ing Advantages of a British Subject; and ’tis a noto-
 rious Truth, that each of those was in danger of
 being lost, during the Administration of that *unhappy*
Prince, of whom I am discoursing.

1. As for the *Imposition* of *Taxes* without *Consent* of
Parliament, we are assur’d by that illustrious Historian,
 who was a great Admirer of King *Charles’s* personal
 Virtues; “ That unjust Projects of all Kinds, many
 “ ridiculous, many scandalous, and all very grievous,
 “ were set on foot †: ” That the Determination of
 a Set of *mercenary Judges* concerning *Ship-Money*
 “ was a *Logick* which left *no Man* any thing that he
 “ could call his *own* ‡; and that five Subsidies were
 “ exacted throughout the whole Kingdom, with the
 “ same Rigour, as if in Truth an Act had passed to
 “ that Purpose *.” And is it any Wonder if Mens
 Minds were exasperated by such a Proceeding?

2. As his Majesty was prevail’d with to levy
Money, so was he also to make *new Laws* by his *single*
Authority. “ The *Council Table* and *Star Chamber*

* Clarendon’s *History*, Vol. I, p. 5.
 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 53.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 54.

“ enlarge their *Jurisdictions* to a vast *Extent*; holding
 “ for *honourable* that which *pleased*, and for *just* that
 “ which *profited*; and being the same Persons in se-
 “ veral Rooms, grew both Courts of Law to deter-
 “ mine *Right*, and Courts of Revenue to bring *Mo-
 “ ney* into the Treasury: The *Council Table* by *Pro-
 “ clamations*, enjoining to the People what was not
 “ enjoined by any Law, and prohibiting that which
 “ was not prohibited; whilst the Court of *Star
 “ Chamber* censured any *Disobedience* to those *Procla-
 “ mations* by very great *Fines* and *Imprisonments* *.”

3. As *Mens Estates* were render'd *precarious* and
unsecure by those arbitrary Methods, so also was the
Liberty of their Persons, which was far more valuable
 than the other: “ Divers Gentlemen of prime Qua-
 “ lity, in several Counties of *England*, being, for
 “ refusing to pay the foremention'd *illegal Subsidies*,
 “ committed to *Prison* with great Rigour and extra-
 “ ordinary Circumstances †.” This was the *State*
 of the Nation when the *Necessities* of the King's
Affairs oblig'd him to *summon* a new *Parliament*: And
 is it any Wonder if Gentlemen were highly irritated
 and disgusted, when their *Estates* and *Liberties* lay at
 the Mercy of a few *fawning Courtiers*; and when
 these *legal Fences*, which their Ancestors had wisely
 provided for their Security, were so insolently beaten
 down, and trampled under Feet?

ANOTHER thing which disgusted Persons of
 Quality in a *peculiar Manner*, was the *exorbitant Ma-
 nagement* of the Court of *Wards*. That Noble *Histo-
 rian*, of whom I shall make a frequent *Mention* in
 this *Treatise*, tells us, “ That when my Lord Cot-
 “ tington was *Master of the Wards*, he raised the *Re-
 “ venues* of that Court to the King, by which Hus-
 “ bandry all the rich Families of *England*, of *Noble-
 “ men* and *Gentlemen*, were exceedingly incens'd, and
 “ even indevoted to the Crown; looking upon what
 “ the *Law* intended for their *Preservation*, to be
 “ now applied to their *Destruction* †.” So that 'twas

* Clarendon's *History*, Vol. 1. p. 54. † *Ibid.* p. 6. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 119. fol.

not the *King's Zeal* for the *Church* or *Common Prayer*, but the *Greediness* of his *Officers*, that rendred so many great Men *indevoted* to his Service, and their Fears, left *dying* during the *Minority* of their Heirs, they should leave both *them* and their *Estates*, a *Prey* to those *Court Harpies*.

A N O T H E R *Grievance* which concerned Men of Estate in a particular manner, was the *extending the King's Forests* beyond their *Ancient Limits*. To this purpose, old musty *Records* were pretended to be found out by the *Attorney-General*, in which it appeared, that such *Houses* and *Estates* as had been in Possession of Mens Families for 300 Years successively, were *Encroachments* upon some of his Majesty's *Forest Lands* †: Just as the *French King* hook'd in many *Rich Towns* and *Cities*, under pretence of being formerly *Dependencies* upon some of those little *Villages*, which were yeilded to him by the *Treaties of Peace*. My Lord *Clarendon* tell us, "That Men had been immoderately vext by the *Justice* in *Eyres*, and that few Men could assure themselves, that their *Estates* and *Houses* might not be brought within the jurisdiction of some *Forest*; the which if they were, it cost them great *Fines*." And the Noble *Author* observes, "That this Burden lighted most upon Persons of Quality and Honour, who thought themselves above Ordinary Oppressions, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharpness.*" If it be demanded, *What made the Parliament so vehement and eager against the Court?* 'Twas the setting on foot those *Methods* which rendered their *Title* to their *Estates* precarious; which sure is a *Thing* of a quite different Nature from *Religion*.

B U T that which gave the *greatest* Dissatisfaction to all Ranks of Men, was, the *imposing* upon the *Subjects* the *Tax* commonly called *Ship-Money*, without *Consent* of *Parliament*. This our *Author* owns an *extraordinary* Expedient, and tell us, *That the King's*

† *Rushw. Coll.*, pt. 2d. Vol. 2. p. 1056. || *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 1. p. 223.
* *Ibid.*, p. 53.

*pressing Occasions put his Ministers upon it. Tho' the Lord Clarendon assures us, They proceeded in this Way of Supply, when there was no Necessity**, and upon upon that Occasion expresses himself in these following Words: "Those Foundations of Right, by which Men valued their Security, to the Apprehension and Understanding of Wise Men, were never more in Danger to be destroyed^{||}." 'Tis true *Ten* of the *Twelve Judges* gave their Opinion for the *Legality* of this *Tax*; But 'tis as true, that King JAMES had the *Opinions* of the same sort of Men for his *Dispensing Power*: Notwithstanding which, the *Exercise* thereof was Voted a *Breach* of the *Original Contract*. When the Lord Clarendon makes his Remarks on that *corrupt Determination*, he decides the *Matter in Dispute* between us by assigning the *same Cause* for our *Unhappy Wars* as I have done; "No Question (*says he*) as the Exorbitancy of the *House of Commons* in the next Parliament, proceeded principally from their Contempt of the Laws, and that Contempt from the Scandal of that Judgment; so the Concurrence of the House of Peers in that Fury, can be imputed to no one thing more, than to the Irreverence and Scorn the Judges were justly in[†]." If it be demanded, What 'twas that made the *Lords and Commons* so Furious and Extravagant? Mr. A. indeed affirms, 'Twas the *Hatred of the Party to Episcopacy and Liturgy*. But this Celebrated *Author* puts it out of all Question, that 'twas their Contempt of the *Laws*, occasioned by a Set of *Mercenary Judges*, who prostituted the *Dignity* of their *Office*, and the *Liberties* of the *Nation*, to their own *Ambition*, and the *fantastick Humours* of a few greedy *Courtiers*.

NEXT to the two Houses, we may consider the City of LONDON, as having the greatest *Influence* upon the *Nation*: If it be demanded, What made them so Chagrin and Discontented? We are told, "That a Grant being made them by the Crown

* Clarendon's Hist Vol. 1 p 126. || Ibid. p. 54. † Ibid. p 59.

“ (in Consideration of great Sums of Money) of
 “ good Quantities of Land in *Ireland*, and of the
 “ City of *Londonderry*, by Virtue of a Decree in the
 “ Star-Chamber, all the Lands, after a vast Expence
 “ of Building and Planting, were resumed into the
 “ King's Hands, and a Fine of Fifty Thousand
 “ Pounds imposed upon the City: which made a
 “ general Impression in the Minds of the Citizens of
 “ all Conditions, much to the Disadvantage of the
 “ Court*. To which I may add, the Imprisonment
 of several of the *Aldeermen*, because they refused to
 certify to the *Council Board* the Names of such Per-
 sons as they concluded able to lend the *Crown Money*
 against their *Inclinations*: That is, (in the Lan-
 guage of the *Sufferers*.) because they would not
 concur with the Court in *robbing* of their *Neighbours*†.
 This is what made the *Londeners* so *mutinous*, and so
 disposed to *revolt*. To which might be added, that
 vast Variety of *Monopolies* which were very *grievous*
 to the *Subject*, and descended so very low as the
making of Pins, and the *gathering of Rags***.

IF the Reader pleases to consult his Majesty's
Declaration of August the 12th, 1642, he may find
 him acknowledging, “ That the Star-Chamber had
 “ invaded the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of
 “ the Subject, by the Exercise of an Arbitrary Power:
 “ That the High Commission had so far outgrown
 “ the Power of the Law, that it would not be
 “ limited and guided by it: That under colour of
 “ Executing the Forest Laws, very many Persons had
 “ been grieved and vexed by Presentments, Fines,
 “ &c. And some Endeavours had been made to set
 “ on foot Forests, where in truth none had been;
 “ and that the Proceedings in the Court of Exchequer
 “ relating to *Knighthood*, were not fit and warrant-
 “ able‡.” These are his Majesty's own Words, and I
 hope they may be credited.

* *Clar. Hist.* Vol. 1. p. 292.

† *Rushworth's Coll.* pt. 2. Vol. 2. p. 1182.

** *Ibid.* pag. 916, 917. ‡ *The Works of King Charles*, Edit. 2. p. 288, 289.

'TIS true, many of these *Grievances* had been *redressed*; and I am verily persuaded, that the *King's* Consent thereto ought to have given greater Satisfaction than it really did: But whoever studies *humane Nature* must know, that when *Prejudices* are deeply rooted in Men's *Minds*, they are not easily removed; and that Men's *Passions*, like the Waves of the *Sea*, are not presently calmed, when they have once been agitated by a *Tempest*. When that *mutual Confidence* that ought to be between the *Prince* and the *Subject* is destroy'd, every little *Accident* will contribute to widen the *Beach*, and make the *Wound* more incurable. I have already shewn from the most celebrated *Historians* of the Age, what it was that sowed the *Seeds of Discontent* in Peoples *Minds*; and we are next to consider, What it was that ripen'd these *Seeds* into a *consuming bloody War*.

HIS Majesty having consented to several good *Laws*, took his *Progress* into *Scotland*: During his Abode in that Kingdom, the bloody *IRISH MASSACRE* their *Protestant* Neighbours; which we may very well suppose did heighten Mens *Fears and Jealousies* of that *BARBAROUS RELIGION* here in *England*. On the 25th of *November* 1641, the King returned thro' *London* to his own Palace*. *December* 1. The *House of Commons* presented to the King, and afterwards printed, their large *Remonstrance* of the *State* of the *Kingdom*; "Which contained a *Bitter Representation*" of all the illegal Things that had been done, from "the first Hour of his coming to the Crown, to that" "very Minute†. The publishing those *Grievances* which had lately been redressed, incensed his Majesty to a high Degree against the *Prime Managers*. On the other Hand, The King dismissed the *Guards* which attended on the Parliament, placing such in their Rooms as they did not like: He made Colonel *Lunsford* (a Soldier of Fortune) Governour of the *Tower*, at which the *Citizens* were mightily disgusted.

*Rushworth, Collect. pt. 3. Vol. 1. p. 429.
p. 245.

† Clarendon's Hist. Vol. 1.

But that which made the Breach between the *King* and *Parliament* IRRECONCILEABLE, was his Majesty's going in Person to the *House of Commons*, attended by his armed *Guards*, and some *Hundreds of Pensioners*, to demand Five *Gentlemen* whom he had accused of *High Treason*; as he had done the *Ld. Kimbolton* in the *House of Peers*. The *Members* accused, were some of them the most popular *Men* in the whole Kingdom; who having secret Intimation of the *Design* against them, had withdrawn themselves into the *City*, where they were safe enough. This *unadvised Action* was indeed the very *Spark*, which set Fire to that *fatal Train* which blew the *Nation* into a *Flame*. The *Two Houses* exclaim against it, as a *Violation* of all their *Privileges*, and an *Assault* upon their very *Constitution*. They *adjourn* themselves for several *Days*, the *Commons* appointing a *Committee* to sit at *Guild-Hall*. The *King* proclaims these *Gentlemen* *Traytors*; the *Parliament* vindicates them; the *City of London* entertains, caresses, and protects them. On *January* the 11th, They were conducted by *Water* to the *Parliament-House*, more than an *Hundred Lighters* and *Long boats*, laden with small *Pieces of Ordnance*, attending on them, the *Train'd Bands* marching down by *Land* to *Westminster* at the same time. The *King*, unable to stem the *Torrent*, and loth to see this *Triumphant Cavalcade* from his own *Windows*, retires the *Day* before, from *Whitehall* to *Hampton-Court*, with all the *Royal Family*. "From this *Day* (*says the Lord Clarendon*) "we may reasonably date "the *Levy*ing of *War* in *England*; whatsoever hath "been since done being but the *Superstructures* upon "those *Foundations* which were then laid.*" And *Whitlock* affirms, "That this suddain *Action* was "the first visible and apparent *Ground* of all our "following *Miseries*†." Thus these two *Gentlemen*, who were *Men* of great *Penetration*, and engaged

* *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 1; pag. 300.
p. 31.

† *Whitlock's Memorials*,

in opposite Interests, who were both *Members* of the *House of Commons*, and understood as well as most the secret Springs which set the Wheels in motion, do both agree, That 'twas the *Demanding* of those *Five Members*, in such an *unusual manner*, that laid the Foundation of the War. On the other Hand, our Author pretends, 'I was the *Hurled* of the *Party to Bishops* and the *Common-Prayer*, I must leave the *Reader* to his own Discretion, Whether he will believe those foremention'd celebrated *Historians*, or one who has committed so many Blunders, and obtruded so many Falshoods upon the World.

THE *Accused Members* being restor'd to their Seats by an *High Hand*, the first thing they attempt is, to secure themselves from a *future Vengeance*. By their *Influence* the *Two Houses* importune the *King*, To settle the *Militia* in such Hands, as they may confide in; that is, their own *Friends*. Their several *Petitions* to this Purpose, the *Readers* may peruse in *Rabworth's Collections* †. Meeting with several *Repulses*, at last, they tell the *King* roundly, in an Address presented to him at *Theobalds, March 1, That if he refuses to comply with their Desires, they resolve to settle the Militia without him*. Accordingly, they appoint *Sir John Hotham* Governour of *Hull*, where lay a great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition. He refuses *Entrance* to the *King*, for which he is proclaimed *Traitor*: The *Parliament* justify what he has done, and resolve to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes ‡. The *Parliament* proceed to make an *Ordinance* for settling the *Militia*, requiring Persons concern'd to put it in Execution: This the *King* forbids; and, on the contrary, sends forth his *Commissions of Array*; which the other declare to be *illegal*. Thus while some endeavour to obey the *King*, and others the *Parliament*, there arose several *Bickerings* and *Rencontres*, in divers Counties, between the *Contending Parties*, till, at last, the whole Kingdom

† Part 3. pag. 516, &c.

‡ Whitlock's *Memorials*, p. 551

became engaged in *Blood and Confusion*. The Truth on't is, the *Gentlemen* impeached were Men of great Ability and Interest; they saw their Heads were aimed at, and others perhaps were afraid of the same Fate; for which Reason they combined together, to wrest the *Sword* out of the *King's* Hand, that it might be never sheathed in their own Bowels. 'Tis none of my Business to *Vindicate* the *Two Houses* in their *Demands*; 'tis like there was a *Fault* on both sides: My Design is only to shew, That the *Quarrel* began about the *Train'd Bands*, and not about *Religion*. Nothing can be more positive than the Assertion of the Lord *Clarendon*, who affirms, " That the Ordinance for settling the *Militia* was the most avowed Foundation of all the Miseries that have followed.* It is evident to all Men (*says the same Historian*) where the Difference now lay between them, being, Whether the *King* would reserve the Disposal of those Offices and Places of Trust to himself, which was a part of his Regality; or whether he would be content with such a Nomination as should depend upon their Approbation †." To this purpose let the *King* himself be heard, who in his large *Declaration* thus expresses himself, speaking of those *Leading Members*: " They perswaded (*says His Majesty*) " such as had complied with them, that we " would never forget the Disservice they had done us; " and therefore, there was no Way to Safety for themselves but by weakning us, and putting themselves into such a Condition, as it should not be in our Power to suppress them ‡." This sets the *Affair* in a true Light; these *Gentlemen* had disobliged the *King*, and thinking themselves not secure whilst the *Sword* was in his Hand, were resolved to get it into their Own. No Man, in his *Wits*, can imagine that the *Common-prayer* was concerned in this, which was indeed the most mischievous and dividing Controversy.

* *Clarendon's Hist* Vol. 2. p. 336. † *Ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 170. ‡ *Works of King Charles*, p. 303.

IF all that has been said will not satisfy the *Reader*, that the late WAR began upon a *Civil*, not a *Religious Account*, I am ready to appeal to the publick *Declarations* and *Demands*, made by the two *Contending Parties*, *King* and *Parliament*, immediately before they proceeded to open *Hostilities*. On the 2d of *June* 1642, the *Lords* and *Commons* presented to the *King* their famous *Nineteen Propositions*; “ The granting of which (as they tell his Majesty in the *Preamble*) “ was the most *Necessary Effectual Means* “ of removing those *Jealousies* and *Differences* which “ had unhappily fallen betwixt him and his People *.” In these *Propositions* they desire, *That the Militia may be managed according to their Ordinance*; *That the Privy Council, Governours of the King’s Children, and the Great Ministers of State, may be only such as they shall approve of*; with other *Demands* of an exorbitant and high Nature. Amongst all these *Propositions* there are but Three which do at all concern *Religion*, Two of which refer only to the *Papists*, the other, which is the Eighth in Order, is expressed in these Words: “ We desire that your Majesty will be pleased to consent, that such a Reformation be made in the Church Government and Liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament shall advise †.” His Majesty in his Answer to these *Proposals* declares his Satisfaction, “ That in this *Proposition* they did seem to desire but “ a Reformation, and not the Destruction of the present Discipline and Liturgy.” He further declares his Readiness, “ To remove any illegal Innovations “ which may have crept into the Church, and any “ Ceremonies which gave just Cause of Offence; as “ also to exempt tender Consciences from Punishment “ for indifferent Matters ‡.” To all these things his Majesty consents: But when he comes to answer their Demands about the *Militia*, and other Matters; He solemnly protests, “ That tho’ he were vanquished “ and a Prisoner, he would never abandon that Power “ which did enable him to perform what he was sworn

* Works of King Charles, p. 260. † Ibid. p. 261. ‡ Ibid. p. 270.

“ to, the *Protection of his People* †.” Hence I infer, that *Religion* did not occasion the *Quarrel* between the *King* and his *Two Houses*; for they desired no more on that Head than he was ready to grant: Whereas they found him most *inexorable* to their *Demands* about the *Train’d Bands*, without which they would not think themselves secure; or as their *Commissioners* told his Majesty some time after, “ No sure way could be found out to cure their Fears and Jealousies, but the gratifying them in the Nomination of military Officers ‡.”

I SHALL, in the next place, take Notice of a *Declaration*, published to the World by the Earl of *Newcastle*, his Majesty’s General in the *North of England*, in which he affirms, “ That the *Quarrel* “ between the *King* and *Two Houses* was not grounded “ upon ANY *Matter of Religion*, the *Rebels* professing themselves to be of the same of which his Majesty was known to be *.” These Words are so plain that they need no Comment; and the Reader has his Choice, whether he will believe this noble *Earl*, who acted so Great and Honourable a Part in the fatal *Tragedies* of that Day; or whether he will give Credit to a Person, who advances any thing which his own *furious Imagination* shall suggest unto him.

Is our Author willing to appeal to *Cæsar*? I will attend his Motions there, and stand to his *Judgment*. His Majesty, about Ten Days before he set up his *Standard* at *Nottingham*, published a large *Declaration*, recounting all the *Concessions* which he had made, and all the *Indignities* and *Provocations* which had been offered to him: “ And for all this impudent Injustice “ (odious to GOD and Man) what is there (says “ the *King*) objected against us? We will not consent “ that the Ordinance of the *Militia* shall be executed; “ that is, we will not allow that both *Houses* of *Parliament* shall make Laws, and impose upon the Property and Liberty of our Subjects without our Con-

† *Works of King Charles*, p. 264. ‡ *Clarendon’s Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 178.
 * *Ibid.* p. 133.

“ sent, &c. What is there else? (*says he in the next*
 “ *Paragraph*) We do not think Sir *John Hotham* hath
 “ dealt well with us in keeping our Town from us,
 “ nor do take it kindly that we are robbed of our
 “ Magazine and Munition; but think of recovering
 “ both by Force, &c. Is there no more? Yes, we
 “ will not submit to those *Nineteen* dutiful and modest
 “ *Propositions*, which have been lately thrown at us
 “ as the necessary Means of removing Jealousies *.”
 Thus if the *King* himself deserves any Credit, ’twas
 not an Hatred to the *Common-prayer*, but Things of
 a civil and military Nature, that engaged the *Parliament*
 in a WAR against their *Sovereign*.

DR. *Heylin* was never suspected of Partiality in
 favour of the *Dissenters*; and he affirms, “ That the
 “ *King’s* demanding the *Five Members* was voted by
 “ the *House of Commons* for such an *unexpiable Breach*
 “ of *Privilege*, that nothing must satisfy their Jealous-
 “ ies, and secure their Fears, but the putting the
 “ *Tower of London* into their Hands, together with
 “ the Command of the *Navy*, *Forts*, *Castles*, and
 “ *Train’d Bands* of the Kingdom †.” And those
 were far from being Things of a *Religious Nature*.

I SHALL present the Reader with one Testimony
 more, which is that of Dr. *Nalson*, whom Mr. *A.*
 describes as a most *Ingenious and Impartial Author*;
 who having told us how the *Parliament* took upon
 them to order the *Militia*, to appoint *Lord Lieutenants*,
Deputy Lieutenants, and other Officers, hath this
 remarkable Observation upon the whole: “ This was
 “ (*says he*) the Apple of *Contention*; and tho’ they
 “ have endeavoured to make it *Bellum Episcopale*,
 “ yet, most certainly, it was a War begun, not for the
 “ *Mitre*, but the *Scepter* and the *Sword* †.” My
 Friend tells us of this *Gentleman*, That none of his
Enemies have been able to detect him in any one Thing
 that is false; after such an high *Eucomium* for his
 Truth, I hope he will not himself pretend to make

* *Works of King Charles*, p. 309, 310. † *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p.
 300. † *Nalson’s Introduction to Coll.* p. 77.

him a *Liar*. What the *Doct^r* offers is confirmed by an *Observation* of the Lord *Clarendon*, upon the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, who tells us, “ That *many* of the *Parliament* desired to have *Peace* without any *Alteration* “ in the *Government*, so they might be sure of *Indemnity* *.” And yet, that most of these *Commissioners* who desired it, insisted upon “ Having the “ whole *Command* of the *Militia* by *Sea* and *Land*, “ without which they looked upon themselves as “ lost, and at the *King’s* mercy †.” So that ’twas not *Hatred* to the *Bishops*, but *Love* to their *Safety*, and *Distrust* of the *King*, (how causeless soever that might be) which made these *Gentlemen* so *obstinate* and *pertinacious*.

I SHALL conclude my *Testimonies* on this Head with an *Evidence* that must be decisive: ’Tis that of *King Charles* himself; who thus express’d himself when on the fatal *Scaffold*: “ I never did begin a “ WAR with the *Two Houses* of *Parliament*; I call “ GOD to witness I never did intend to *encroach* “ upon their *Privileges*: They began upon me; it is “ the *Militia* they began upon †.” And now what can any Man say who comes after the *King*? I hope it will not be objected by any Man, either that he was so weak as not to understand the true State of the Controversy betwixt Him and his *Two Houses*, or so wicked as to leave the World with a Lye in his mouth. And since he assures us with his *dying Breath* that the WAR began about the *Militia*, I hope I may be allowed to conclude, That it *began*, not upon a *religious*, but a *civil* or *military Account*.

II. I PROCEED now to the *Second Head* which I at *first* propounded, which was, To *prove* that the most *eminent Leading Men*, who at first engaged in the *Parliament Quarrel*, were *Church-men*, for *Bishops* and *Liturgists*; and the *Evidence* which I shall principally insist upon, is that of the Lord *Clarendon*,

* *Clarend. Hist. Vol. 2. pag. 457.* † *Ibid. p. 453.* † *Works of King Charles, p. 208.*

who must be allowed a very *competent Witness*, and whose *History* is *Illustrious* for nothing more, than for those *Noble Characters* which he gives of those *Gentlemen* who were the *prime Actors* in that *unhappy Tragedy*. If we consider the *Temper* and *Humour* of the *Kingdom* in general, when the *Long Parliament* began, we are assured, "That it was little inclined "to the *Papist*, and less to the *Puritan* *." On the other Hand, this celebrated *Author* affirms, "That "generally there was a due Submission to the *Government*, and a singular Reverence of the *Liturgy* "of the *Church of England* †." And speaking of the *King's Absence* in *Scotland*, which was near a *Twelvemonth* after the Opening of the *Parliament*, he declares, "That the *Common-prayer* at that time "Time was much *reverenced* throughout the *Kingdom* ‡." Nay, after the *Differences* grew very "high, and the *Ordinances* for the *Militia* were put in *Execution*, we are told, "There was, throughout "the whole *Kingdom* a *Wonderful* and *Superstitious* "Reverence towards the *Name* of a *Parliament*, and "a Prejudice to the *Power* of the *Court*; yet a full "Submission and love of the establish'd *Government* "of the *Church* and *State*, especially to that Part of "the *Church* as concerned the *Liturgy*, or *Book* of "Common-Prayer, which was a general Object of "Veneration with the *People* **. Hence 'tis evident, that many who lov'd the *Common-Prayer*, did yet joyn with the *Two Houses* against the *Court*; and 'tis highly improbable, that when the *Generality* of the *Nation* had such an *High Value* for it, they should yet chuse such *Representatives* as were resolved to *Destroy* it,

BUT to put this Matter beyond all Dispute, I will give the Names of some of the *Prime Managers*, and *Eminent Commanders*, of the *Parliament Side*, who were yet for *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy*, if the Lord *Clarendon* deserves any Credit, who was a *Member* in this very *House of Commons*, and had a particular

* *Clarendon's History*, Vol. 1. pag. 71; † *Ibid.* pag. 414; ‡ *Ibid.* pag. 111. * *Ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 89

Knowledge of the Persons he describes, and whose *History* is had in the *highest* Reputation by such as would be thought the *true Sons of the Church*. Amongst all those who drew their *Swords* against their *Sovereign*, the Earl of *Essex* deserves first to be considered, as being their *Captain-General* : So great his *Reputation*, that we are told, “ It had been very “ difficult, if not impossible, for the *two Houses* of “ *Parliament* to have rais’d an Army then, if the “ Earl of *Essex* had not consented to be the *General* “ of that *Army* *. That he was entirely their Foun- “ der, that the being able to raise an Army, and con- “ duct it to fight the *King*, was purely due to him “ and the Effect of his Power †.” When Mr. *Vines* preached this *Noble Man’s* Funeral Sermon, he told the *two Houses*, “ That the very Name of *Essex* “ had commanded thousands into their Service ‡.” So that he was not only the *Head* that commanded, but the very *Soul* that animated the *Rebellion*; yet so far from being a *Dissenter*, that we are assured, by one who knew him very well, “ That he was rather “ displeased with the Person of the *Arch-bishop*, and “ some other *Bishops*, than ind devoted to the Function; “ and that he was as much devoted as any Man to the “ Book of *Common-Prayer* §.

NEXT to the *General* at *Land*, we may reckon the *Admiral* at *Sea*, as the most considerable Person, and that was the Earl of *Warwick*; if we examine his Principles as to *Religion* and *Church Government*, “ He never discovered any Aversion to *Episcopacy*, “ but much professed the contrary *.” If it be demanded, *Who ’twas that seiz’d upon the King’s Ships, expressly contrary to his Command, and employ’d them to his great Disservice.* The answer must be this, ’twas no *Presbyterian*, but a professed *Episcopalian*. I might mention the Earl of *Bedford*, who was *General* of the *Horse* under *Essex*, the Lord *Roberts*, and others, who lived and died in *Communion* with the *Church of*

* *Clar. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 374.* † *Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 434.* ‡ *Essex’s Hearse, p. 27.* § *Clarendon’s History, Vol. 1. p. 124.* • *Ibid.*

England; but I need not name Particulars, when in the whole *House of Peers* there were but two Persons who seemed to desire the *Dissolution* of the *Government* *.

WE will therefore consider the *Temper* of the *House of Commons*, and here 'tis fit that their Speaker *Lenthall* should have the Precedency. He is described, "As one who was not without good Inclinations to the Church †. I may defy our Accuser to name one *Presbyterian* who Voted in that *House* for the erecting a *High Court of Justice*, to Try and Condemn the King; yet here is a *Gentlemen* well enclined to the Church, that is a *Church-man*, who possess'd the Chair at that vere time, and concurr'd with others in the Extirpation of *Monarchy*, and Banishing the *Royal Off-Spring*.

THIS Gentleman survived the Confusions of the Age, and Lived to see both King and Church restored. When he lay upon his Death Bed in 1662, he was Visited by Dr. *Ralph Brideoak*, to whom he made a penitential Acknowledgment of his Miscarriages; and being ask'd by the Dr. Whether he had any Hand in ruining and murdering the Fathers of the Church? he answered "none; for he *always* did believe that was the Primitive and best Government of the Church; and said he died a dutiful Son of the Church of *England* ||;" 'Tis observable, that, not only when he was a dying Penitent, but that he *always* look'd upon Episcopacy as the best Government, and by Consequence; at that very time, when he put the Question in the House of Commons, for the Tryal of the King and the Subversion of the Monarchy. And indeed without his Concurrence, the violent Party had been hardly able to accomplish their Designs.

IN the Front of those who did most immediately contribute to the kindling of our *Civil Flames*, I may very well rank Sir *John Hotham*; this is the Gentleman who shut the *Gates* of *HULL* against the King,

* Clar. Hist. Vol. 1 p. 194. Vol. † 1b. Vol. 3 p. 49. † Hist. of Eng. Vol. 3 p. 241. and

and planted his *Musquetiers* upon the Walls and Ramparts of the *Town*, to keep him and his Retinue out ; Who, in a *Sally* that he made upon the *King's* Forces, shed the *FIRST BLOOD* that was spilt in all the *War*,* and was the *FIRST* his *Majesty* proclaimed a *Traitor*. " He was in truth (*says the Historian*) " the immediate Cause of the *War*†." But was he a *Dissenter* all this while? No; that Noble *Author*, who both knew the Man and his Communication, assures us, " That he was *very well Affected*, in his Judgment, to the Government in *Church* and *State*||)." So that 'twas a *Church-man* who first threw the *Gauntlet*, and bid *Defiance* to *Royal Majesty* : " The Bu-
siness of *Hull* being the first Visible Rupture be-
tween the *King* and his *Two Houses* *." Which, 'tis very probable, might have otherwise been prevented without Blood.

NEXT to him I may very well reckon the Famous Mr. *John Gyn*, " Who seemed to all Men to have " the greatest Influence upon the House of Com-
mons of any Man ; and was, in Truth, the most
popular Man, and the most able to do Hurt, that
hath lived in any Time." Yet the *Ld. Clarendon*, who gives him this Character, assures us, " That tho'
he was an *Enemy* to the *Arminians*, yet he pro-
fessed to be *very entire* to the *Doctrine* and *Disci-
pline* of the *Church of England*†." And the same *Author* has left it upon Record, " That no Man had
more to answer for the *Miseries* of the *Kingdom*,
or had his Hand and Head deeper in their Contri-
vance, than [this entire *Church-man*]||." As this *Gentleman* was One of the *Five Members*, so after that Attempt to seize him by Force, He never entertained Thoughts of Moderation**.

WE are left a little more in the Dark as to the Famous *Hambden*, nor is it certain what *Inclinations* he had to *Episcopacy* ; but we are told, " That most

* *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 59. † *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 476.
 ‡ *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 1. p. 305. * *Ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 120 † *Ibid.* p. 354.
 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 353. || *Ibid.* p. 355.

“believed his Dislike rather to be of some *Churchmen*, than of the *Ecclesiastical Government* of the *Church* *.”

NEXT to these already mentioned, we may very well reckon Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, whether we consider the *Eminency* of his *Parts*, or the *Activity* of his *Zeal*. “He had an Indignation against all the *Independent Party*; nor was he affected to the *Presbyterians*, any otherwise than as they constituted a *Party* to oppose the other †: But was well pleased “with the *Government* of the *Church* ‡.” This *Gentleman* survived the Confusions of the War, and was by K. CHARLES promoted to the Dignity of a *Baron*. His *Funeral Sermon* was preached April 10, 1680, by Sam. Reyner, M. A. Rector of St. Peter’s, *Dorchester*, who mentions with Honour, “His constant “Opposition against all *Innovations* in the *Church*, “and any Thing that looked like a Publick Grievance “in the Common-Weal. He was in the most secret “Council with those who most Governed *;” as the Ld. *Clarendon* informs us. And K. CHARLES declared him, to all the World, “To be the most “malicious Promoter and Contriver of *those Tumults* “which first drove him from his Royal Palace ††.” Thus Sir *Hen. Vane* the Elder did the *King* an *Un-speakable Prejudice*, and yet “in his Judgment, liked “the *Government* both of *Church* and *State* ‡‡. Nay, “he not only appeared highly Conformable himself, “but exceeding sharp against those that were not *.” I hope this *Gentleman* may be allowed to be a *True Son* of the *Church*, who was yet as deeply plunged in the *Rebellion* as any of his Neighbours.

I might mention *Whitlock* †, *Langhorn* ‡, and others, who are represented without any Inclination to *Presbyterian* Principles, and were yet engaged with some of the *first* against the *King*: But what need is there to descend to Particulars, when the Ld. *Clarendon* has

* *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 1 p. 205. † *Ibid.* p. 460. ‡ *Ibid.* Vol. 1 p. 184.
 * *Ibid.* p. 150. †† *Works of King Charles*, p. 306. ‡‡ *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 163. • *Ibid.* Vol. 1. p. 149. † *Ibid.* Vol. 2. p. 460. ‡ *Ibid.* Vol. 3. p. 111.

left a most *remarkable* Observation exactly to my Purpose. Having spoken of Two or Three that were indeed for *Root and Branch*; “ Yet (*says he*) Mr. Pym “ was not of that mind, nor Mr. *Hollis*, nor any of “ the *Northern Men*, or those Lawyers who drove on “ most *furiously* with ’em; A L L who were pleased “ with the *Government* it self of the *Church* †.” So that if this celebrated History deserves any Credit, the most FURIOUS DRIVERS in the *House of Commons* were Men of *Episcopal Principles*.

NOR can it be pretended, That these good *Inclinations* for the *Church* were presently lost; for, after *Edghill* Fight, and the shedding a great deal of Blood, we are inform’d, “ That the Design against the “ *Church* was not grown popular even in the Two “ Houses*.” Now a *Proposal* is said to be *popular*, when ’tis grateful to the *Generality* of the People: And when thir Design is denied to be *popular*, it necessarily follows, that the *greater Part* of the *Parliament* did not concur therewith. The Lord *Clarendon* assures us, “ That when they began to cast “ their Eyes on *Scotland* for Assistance, there were, “ in Truth, *very few* of the Two Houses, who “ desired the *Extirpation* of *Episcopacy* †.” And therefore our Author labours under a *gross Mistake* when he pretends, That this was the *very End* for which they *began the War*. And though there was a *Bill* afterwards brought in for that purpose, yet ’twas well enough known, “ That most of the “ Peers, and Persons of Quality in the other House, “ were willing to depart from that Overture ‖.

I have already hinted at the *Manifesto* published by the Earl of *Newcastle*, the King’s General in the North of *England*, who declared to all the World, “ That “ the Rebels professed themselves to be of the same “ Religion with his Majesty.*” Whence it follows, Either that the *King* was a *Presbyterian*, or the

† *Clar. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 124.*
 ‖ *Ib. p. 285.*

* *Ib. Vol. 2. p. 51.*

† *Ib. p. 133.*

• *Ib. p. 133.*

Parliament Churchmen : and my Friend shall take his Choice.

WHEN his Majesty was a Prisoner in the *Isle of Wight*, the *Lords and Commons at Westminster* sent down several of their own Body to treat with him about the *Settlement of the Nation*. His *Controversy* with some *Presbyterian Divines* about the *Government of the Church* is in Print, in which he discovered a vast Capacity and wonderful Acuteness. Whilst this *Affair* was canvassing, several of the *Commissioners* found Means to advertise the King, " That they were of his Majesty's Judgment with reference to the *Government*, which they hop'd might yet be preserved, but not by the Method his Majesty pursued II." By this Instance it appears, that their *Quarrel* with the King was not about Matters of an *Ecclesiastical Nature* ; they concurring with him in these Things, whilst they disputed their *State Differences* upon the Sword's Point.

IF we consult the *Temper* of *Effex's Army*, we shall find them cherishing the same Inclinations to *Episcopacy*, with those who gave 'em their Commissions. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, " That when *Vane*, and some others, were sent down to procure Aid of the *Scots*, they knew well that many of their greatest Friends, both in the *Parliament* and the *Army*, had not any mind to change the Government of the *Church* *. Nay, we are informed, " That all those who were countenanced by the Earl of *Effex*, or in his Confidence, were Men of such Principles, that they desired no other Alterations in the Court or Government, but only of the Persons who acted in it †. If Mr. *A.*'s Logick will hold Water, That all such as fought against the King were guilty of his Blood, some part of it must be laid at the *Churchmen's Doors* ; for these very *Gentlemen* commanded at the *Bloody Battle of Edge-hill*, where the King was in Person present. Mr. *Baxter* gives us the Names of many *Major-Generals*, and other great Officers, in

† *Clar. Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 167,

* *Ib.* Vol. 1. p. 291.

† *Ib.* p. 291.

Essex's Army, who to his own Knowledge were *Conformists*, and some of them “ so Zealous for the Liturgy and Diocesans, that they would not hear a Man, as a Minister, that had no *Episcopal Ordination* †. And if Prejudice should *object* against his Testimony, yet no *Exception* can lye against that Noble *Author* who has been so often quoted, who was a professed Champion for the *Church*, and an avowed Enemy to all *Dissenters*.

By him we are informed, ‘ That even the *Independent* Party comprehended many, who were not so much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a Peace might be established upon the Foundations of both, so their own particular *Ambition* might be complied with.” So that some Hearty *Church-men*, to gratify their own *Avarice* or *Ambition*, concurred with those who are said to have *subverted* the *Ancient Monarchy*, in order to erect a *Common Wealth* upon the Ruins of it.

To all the instances that have been given, I might subjoyn that of Dr. *Williams*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; I hope his Character may skreen him from the Imputation of *Fanaticism*: And yet this very *Gentleman* accepted a *Commission* from the *Parliament*, whose *General*, in a manner, he became in *Wales*, reducing the Town of *Aberconwey* to their Obedience *.

If we consult the publick *Acts* and *Manifestos* of the *Long-Parliament*, we shall find them declaring for *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy*. On the 20th of *November* 1640, there was an *Order* made in the *House of Commons*, “ That none should sit in that House after the *Communion-Day*. but those that had first received the *Sacrament* ‡.” Which proves, that they were all in *Communion* with the *Church of England*; nor can *Occasional Conformity* be objected to these *Gentlemen*, for this (according to my Friend’s Calculation)

† *Devout Confession*, p. 30.

* *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 576.

‡ *Gulley's Church Hist.* L. 11. p. 227.

Rushworth's Coll. pt. 3. Vol. 1.

is of a far later Invention, being set on Foot in the Reign of King WILLIAM.

ON the 17th of July 1641, 'twas voted in the *House of Commons*, "That every *Shire* should be a several *Diocefs*, with a *Bifhop* to prefide over it*." Which is an *Evidence*, that thefe *Gentlemen* were no fuch mortal *Enemies* to *Epifcopacy*, as is pretended by my *Opponent*.

ON the firft of *December* following, the *Commons* prefented to the *King* their *Large Remonftrance* of the *State of the Nation*, in which they complained of a *Malignant Party*, "Who (fay they) infufe into the People, that we mean to abolifh all *Church-Government*, and leave every Man to his own Fancy for the *Service* and *Worship* of *God*." To which they Answer, confeffing. "That their *Endeavours* had been to *Reduce* within Bounds that *Exorbitant Power* which the *Prelates* had affumed to themfelves, that they might the better apply themfelves to the *Discharge* of their *Functions*." Concluding in thefe Words: "We do declare, That it is *Far* from our Purpose or Defire, to let loofe the *Golden Reins* of *Discipline* and *Government* in the *Church*, to leave private *Persons*, or particular *Congregations* to take up what *Form* of *Divine Service* they please: For we hold it requifite, that there fhould be, throughout the whole *Realm*, a *Conformity* to that *Order* which the *Laws* enjoin according to the *Word* of *God*†." This *Declaration* for *Conformity* was made, when they had fate about *Thirteen Months*; by which we may eafily guefs, what *Spirit* poffeffed our Author when he tells the World, *That before the Long Parliament was a Year old, the Body of the Houfe was poffeffed with the Spirit of Presbytery*.

I fhall conclude my *Evidence* on this Head with a *Testimony*, to which I hope my Friend will pay a *Deference*; 'tis of no lefs a *Person* than King *Charles*

* Whitlock's *Memoria's*, p. 45.
450.

† Rushworth's *Collect.* p. 30. P

himself, who in 1644, vouchsafed to write a *Letter* with his own Hand to the Earl of *Effex*, in which he told him, "How much it was in his Power to restore that *Peace* to the *Kingdom*, which he had professed always to desire; and upon such Conditions as did fully comply with all those Ends for which the *Parliament* had first taken up Arms: For his Majesty was still ready to satisfy all those Ends." Hence I infer, that the *End* for which they took up Arms, was *not* to destroy the *Bishops* or the *Common Prayer*; for this is what his Majesty would never have complied with.

ALL that can, with any colour of Reason, be objected to what I have said, is, That this very *Parliament* did actually *abolish* both the *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy*, in pursuance of the *Solemn League and Covenant* which they had taken. But to set that Affair in a clear Light, we must understand, that in the *Second Year* of the *War*, the *King's Party* grew formidable beyond Expectation, and were victorious in several *Encounters*. 'Twas in this *Distraction* of their *Affairs*, "when Sir *William Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Effex's* Army unserviceable, that they sent down some Gentlemen into *Scotland*, to implore the Aid of their Friends the *North Britains*." At the sending of this *Embassy*, they are said, "to be in the greatest Dejection of Spirit, looking upon themselves as near swallow'd up by the *King's Power*†." The *English Commissioners* are told by those of *Scotland*, "That it would be impossible to engage their Nation in a Joint Concurrence with them, unless 'twere made evident that the *Government* of the *Church* in *England* should be reduced to the same Model with theirs in *Scotland*; and that *Episcopacy* should be totally extirpated: Without which (they said) they could never think their own *Government* securely establish'd; but if such a Promise were

† Clarendon's *Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 392.

‡ Ibid. page 383.

† Ibid.

“ *solemnly made*, their whole Nation to a Man would “ enter into the Quarrel ll. ” The Lord Clarendon (in the *Judicious Remarks* he makes upon this *Treaty*) observes, That many of the greatest Men, both in the *Parliament* and *Army*, had no mind to alter the *Government* of the *Church*: But these were the ONLY *Terms* on which *Assistance* could be obtained. And that Noble *Author* tells us, “ That these Proposals “ were sent up to the *Committee* at *Westminster*, in the “ Time of their Consternation, before the Relief “ of *Glocester* *, who immediately complied with “ them. ”

By what has been said 'tis evident, that the Introducing the *Solemn League and Covenant*, was, in relation to the *English Parliament*, a Matter of *Necessity* rather than *Choice*: They sacrificed *Episcopacy* and *Liturgy* to their own *Safety*: They had rather see the *Prelates* Honour in the Dust, than their own Heads upon a Block; and thought the *Bishops* might better lose their *Mitres*, than they their *Estates*. This no more argues that they in their own Judgments hated *Episcopacy*, than that a *Merchant* hates a *Valuable Cargo*, when he throws it over-board in a *Tempest* to save his own Life.

'TIS none of my Business to vindicate the *Sects* in obtruding their own Model upon their Neighbours, for I can't persuade my self, that either *Episcopacy* or *Presbytery* are so absolutely Necessary to the BEING of a *Church*, as that the Introducing of either of those *Forms* can justify a *Civil War*.

WERE there need of any to corroborate the *Testimony* of this *Incomparable Historian*, I could easily produce a Cloud of *Witnesses*. Dr. Heylin tells us, “ That the *Scots*, well knowing in what *Necessity* “ their Dear Brethren of *England* stood of their “ *Assistance*, were resolved to make Hay while the Sun “ shined, and husband that *Necessity* to their best “ Advantage: The *English* must first enter into *Covenant* with them, for conforming *This Church*

l. Clarendon's *Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 283. • Ibid. p. 291.

“ with *That* *. There is little Reason (says a Gentleman, who was far from being a Dissenter) to charge the GUILT of the *unexpiable Murder* of our late *Excellent King* upon PRESBYTERY, which was not *thought of* here in *England* till the War began. The *Parliament* prayed *Aid* of the *Scotch Nation*; who *refused* them any *Assistance*, except they would enter into that *Covenant* which they had passed upon their own Nation †.”

THIS Gentleman falls very foul upon me, as affirming that *the Generality of the Churchmen* did adhere to the Parliament: But this was not *exactly* my Expression, nor was the Word *Generally* intended by me to refer to *Churchmen*. However, I am verily perswaded that the Thing is *true*, so far as it *relates* to the *first Scuffle* about the *Militia*. I have already proved, from my Lord *Clarendon*, that the Nation was little *inclined* to the *Puritans*, and had a *mighty Veneration* for the *Common-prayer*: To which I may add, “ That very many, both of the *Clergy* and *Laity*, who had suffered under the *Imputation* of *Puritanism*, did apply themselves with great *Resolution* and *Constancy* to the *King's Service* †.” When the *Quarrel* about the *Train'd Bands* began, *Rushworth* gives us an Account of many Counties in which the *Ordinance* of *Parliament* was submitted to, whilst the *King's Commissioners* of *Array* could make but little of it **. As *Whitlock* was *One* of the *First* that appeared in *Arms*, so was he very well received by the *Citizens* of *Oxford*; nay, the *Vice-Chancellour*, *Heads of Houses*, and *Proctors*, paid a *Visit* to the Lord *Say*, protesting, “ Their *Duty* to the *Parliament*; and engaged themselves not to *Act* any thing against 'em; and that their *Hate* should not be made use of by the *King* against the *Parliament* ††.” I hope no Man will cast such an *Aspersions* upon the *University*, as to *Condemn* these *Gentlemen* for *Hypocrites* and *Cowards* in

* *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 509. † *Preface to Hunt's Postscript*
 ‡ *Clarendon's History*, Vol. 2. p. 42. ** *Rushworth's Coll.* Part 3. Vol. I.
 p. 649, &c. †† *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 60.

speaking contrary to the *Apprehensions* they then had. When the *King* set up his *Standard* at *Nottingham*, the *Appearance* was so *inconsiderable*, that if the *Parliament Army* had advanced directly towards him, we are told, "That his Majesty's few Forces must immediately have been scattered, and himself fled, or " put himself into their Hands †." The Truth of it is, the *Parliament* fancied, that an *Army* could not have been drawn together to fight against their own *Representatives*; and that the *King*, being abandoned, would have been forced to return to *Whitehall*, and comply with their *Demands*. This made them too *secure*, and *averse* to an *Accommodation*, whilst, on the other Hand, their *Stiffness* encreased the Number of the *Cavaliers*. In one Word; seeing, at the Time we are speaking of, there were very few *Dissenters* in the *Kingdom*, How came the *Parliament* to be possessed of the greatest *Towns* and *Cities*? How came *whole Counties* to submit to their *Ordinances* about the *Militia*? All which had not been possible, had there not been *Multitudes* of *Churchmen* concurring with them.

By what has been produced out of our most *Eminent Historians*, I presume I have made it evident, that the *Long Parliament* was made up of *CONFORMISTS*; That there was at that time an *universal Murmur* and *Discontent* throughout the *Nation*; That the *Members* of that *Senate* came together, with Minds *exasperated* by those *illegal Prosecutions*, which divers of them had endured, and full of *passionate Resentments* against the *Court*. I will not deny, but according to the Custom of *angry People*, they might do many things which were too *provoking* to his *Majesty*; and so by mutual *Jealousies* and *Unkindnesses*, as by so many *insensible Steps*, they became at last involved in a *destructive BLOODY WAR*, which I am confident was at first intended by *neither Party*.

To conclude this Head; as I pretend not to be an *Advocate* on either Side, when I believe there were *Faults* on both, all that I affirm is this: Suppose this *War* on the *Parliament* Side to be *REBELLION*, and this *Rebellion* to be as *BLACK* and *ODIOUS* as *Fancy* is able to imagine, or a skilful *Pencil* to describe; yet sure it ought not to be objected to the *Dissenters*, when the *FIRST Authors* and *PRIME Managers* thereof were *Church-men*. And if this will not *justify* such *Presbyterians*, yet it must *stop* the *Mouths* of their *Adversaries* if they have any *Modesty* left 'em. I must be extremely *Impudent* to quarrel with another, for what I my self have been guilty of. And so much for the *ORIGINAL* of the *Late WAR*.

III. I am next to consider, Whether the *Presbyterians* *KILLED* the *King*. This is the *Common Place* which furnishes my *Antagonist* with the most *virulent Invectives* on all Occasions; this is *Sauce* to his *Common Conversation*; the principal *Ingredient* of his *Pulpit Oratory*, and an inexhaustible *Fountain* of *Railery* and *ill Language*.

I need not produce many *Authors*, when we have such a *Compurgator* as the *Lord Clarendon*: He affirms, "That the *Presbyterian Scots* had never any Purpose to Renounce *subjection* to *Monarchy*, or to withdraw it from their present *King*.*" 'Tis true, they thought the *Crown* might do well enough without the *Mitre*, and were perhaps a *little too severe* against the *Bishops*; but were far enough from *Republican Principles*. Whilst his *Majesty* was a *Prisoner*, an *Army* of *Scots* came into *England*, in his *Favour*, under *Duke Hamilton*; and we are told, "That the most considerable Persons, who in contest with the other *Faction* were content to be thought *Presbyterians*, were so only as they thought it might restore the *King*†." An Argument that the *Presbyterians* were looked upon as *WILLING*

* Clarendon's *Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 86. † Ibid. p. 78.

to restore the *King* to his *Liberty* and *Royal Dignity*. Whilst this *Expedition* was preparing in *Scotland*, “Both the *Presbyterians*, who were their chief Correspondents, and the *Royal Party*, bethought themselves how they might be ready*.” And is there any *Conscience* in laying that *Prince’s BLOOD* at their Door, when they were ready to *UNITE* with their avowed *Enemies* the *Cavaliers*, in order to prevent the spilling of it? This Noble Author tell us, “That about this time there was a passionate Desire, throughout the Nation, that all their *Follies* and *Madness* might be forgotten, in restoring the *King* all they had taken from him, and repair the Building they had thrown down; that many Officers and Soldiers, who had serv’d under *Effex*, had the same Disposition; and that the *Presbyterian Ministers* talked very loud [against the then prevailing *Faction* †.] And does not all this sufficiently declare, their *HIGH* dislike of the *Design* that was then carrying on? When the *High Court of Justice* was erected, “They *Preached* furiously against all wicked *Attempts* and *Violence*, against the Person of the *King*, urging the *Obligation* of their *Covenant* for the security of his Person †.” All which demonstrates their *Detestation* of that most *Execrable Parricide* which was afterwards committed.

IF we consult the Management of *Cromwel* and his *Faction*, we are told, “That he *discountenanced* and *suppressed* the *Presbyterians* in all places*.” That he admitted *few or no Chaplains* in the *Army*, but such as *bitterly Inveighed* against the *Presbyterian Government* ††.” This was his *Conduct*; and no Reason can be assigned of this his *Animosity* against them, but their *Averseness* to concur with him in his grand *Design*, of changing the *Ancient Monarchy* into a new fangled *Common-Wealth*.

THE Lord-Chancellor *Hyde* is not the only Person that has *Absolved* Us from the pretended Guilt of

* *Clar. Hist.* Vol. 3 p. 95. † *Ibid.* p. 93. † *Ibid.* p. 193. *. *Ibid.* p. 192. †† *Ibid.* p. 32.

Regicide; the Author of King CHARLES's *Life*, prefixed to his *Works*, chimes in exactly with him: "The *Presbyterian Ministers*, (says he) almost all "those of *London*, and very many out of the several "Counties, and some (tho' few) also of the *Independents*, did, in their *Sermons* and *Conferences*, as also "by *monitory Letters*, *Petitions*, *Protestations* and *Remonstrances*, publickly divulged, adjure the *Assassins* not to draw so great a GUILT upon *Themselves* and the *whole Nation* by that MURDER II."

To these I shall subjoyn the *Testimony* of the late Bishop of *Sarum*, who, in a *Sermon* preached before the Court of *Aldermen*, Jan. 30th, 1680, affirms, "That this was but the Crime of a few *hot-headed Enthusiasts*, or *ambitious Soldiers*: That many of "the most considerable *Dissenters*, did even *then*, when "it was not so *safe* to do it as *now*, openly declare "against it, both in their *Sermons* and *Writings*. "This is what in Justice cannot be *denied* them."

AMONGST those who appeared as *Champions* for *New Republick*, there were few more *Eminent* for their *Parts* and *Learning* than Mr. *John Goodwin*, who published a *Defence of the Sentence* passed upon the late King: In which he exclaims against the *London Presbyters*, for their most *shameless* and *seditious Vociferations* and *Outcries* against the *Parliament*, as having no *Authority*, or *Right of Power*, to proceed as they did against the King *. "These were (says he) the "Ghostly Fathers of all, or the greatest part, of those "Anti-parliamentary *Barabbasses* who so lately commenced *Masters of Mis-Rule* in *Surrey*, *Sussex*, "Kent, *Essex*, *Wales*, &c. †." Which last Words refer to the *Insurrections* raised in those Counties, in order to rescue the King from his *Captivity*, and re-instate him in his former *Grandeur*. Thus the *Presbyterians* are acquitted of the King's Murder by the *Royalists* on the one Hand, and the *Commonwealth-men* on the other.

* *Life of King Charles I.* p. 53.

† *Goodwin's Defence*, &c. p. 10.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 2.

AND there is a very great Reason for it, when the *Ministers* of that *Persuasion*, in and about *London*, did print a *Vindication* of themselves, in which they protested against the *Intended Tryal* of the *King*; exhorting all their People, “ to maintain the *fundamental Constitution* and *Government* of the *Kingdom*, and “ to pray, That *GOD* would restrain the *Violence* “ of Men, that they may not dare to draw upon “ themselves and the *Kingdom* the *Blood* of their “ *Sovereign*. ” And to this near 60 of them subscribed their *Names*. This *Vindication* is printed at large in a *Pamphlet*, called, *The Rights of Protestant Dissenters*; to which I refer the *Reader*.

TO what has been said, I shall subjoin the Endeavours made use of by such Citizens of *London*, as were the most eminent Assertors of the *presbyterian Discipline*, in order to prevent the *Extirpation* of *Monarchy*, and the *Murder* of the *King*; together with several Conferences which the Chancellour of *Scotland* had with the *Leading Members* of both Houses, in order to prevent (that *tragical Disaster*).

IN *July*, 1647, the *Train'd Bands*, *Citizens* and *Auxiliaries* of the City of *London*, enter into an Engagement; in which “ they declare for the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, and their Resolutions to endeavour that his Majesty may come to his Two “ Houses of Parliament with Safety, Honour and “ Freedom.”

ON the 8th of *August*, 1648, a Petition from the Common Council of *London* was presented to both Houses, praying, “ (1.) That the *King's Majesty* be “ free from all Restraint. (2.) That he be invited to “ a *Treaty*. (3.) That the Government of the Church “ be settled according to the *Covenant*†.” The Declaration of these Gentlemen for the *Covenant*, is a sufficient Evidence that they were Men of *presbyterian Principles*; and their other Resolutions demonstrate that they were no such implacable Enemies to *Monarchy* as they have been misrepresented.

* Rushworth's Coll. Part 4. Vol. 1. p. 630. † Ibid. Part 4. Vol. 2. p. 1220.

WHEN the *Scotish* Parliament consented to deliver the King's Person to the *English* Commissioners, 'twas upon this exprefs Condition, " That no Violence be done to his Royal Person ; that there be no Change of Government ; and that his Posterity be no ways prejudiced in their Succession to the Crown II. "

THE Chancellour of *Scotland*, in a Conference with a Committee of both Houses, *October* 6. 1646, declared, " That it was far from their [the *Scots*] Desires or Intention to *change* the fundamental Government *." And in another Conference, *October* 10. he assured them, " That the *Scots* had an *Antipathy* against the *Change* of *Monarchical Government* †." Thus both the *English* and *Scotish* Presbyterians declared their great *Aversion* to the Designs of *Cromwell* and his Party, who were contriving to cut off the King, and to subvert the *British Monarchy*, that they might erect a new-fangled *Commonwealth* upon the Ruins of it.

BUT my *Antagonist* will needs have it, That the *Presbyterians* killed the King, let all the World say what they please : This is the *Post* he is resolved to maintain, tho' confronted by the most *authentick Records* of the *Kingdom* : Let us therefore attend his *Motions*, and see how he makes good his *Charge*.

THE first Thing he urges is, *That they fought against the Royal Army, when his Majesty was present in Person.* And the *Bullets* had no Commission to distinguish *Royal* from *Plebeian Blood*. Allowing this to be true as to Matter of Fact, We are still as *Loyal* as the *Churchmen* ; for (as I have proved) the Earl of *Essex* and his *General Officers* were for *Bishops* and *Common-prayer*, and yet these *Gentlemen* did actually fight against the King at *Edge-Hill* and *Newberry*. And pray who were those that fought against King JAMES at the *Boyn* ? And would have done the same in *England*, had that *Prince* had enough of his *Dear Joys* to look 'em in the Face. So that if

Fighting the King's Forces be Killing the King, we stand upon a Level with those who causelessly insult Us: Or if there be any Difference, 'tis, that the Churchmen have killed Two Kings for the Dissenters
 ONE.

BUT 'tis further urged, That *Cafe, Love, Strickland, and others, did encourage the King's Murder, and recommend it publicly in their Pulpits, and in Print, as a lawful Action.* But this is a most egregious Calumny, and downright Falshood; so far from being True, that some of those very Men did publicly protest against that execrable Fact. Perhaps *Hugh Peters* might talk after this wild Rate, but 'tis barbarous Injustice to father these Expressions upon such as did detest 'em. I have consulted some of the *Long Parliament Preachers*, and find them speaking in a quite different Language from what is pretended by their petulant Accuser. Mr. *Cafe* preach'd a Sermon before the *House of Commons*, February 19. 1645, to whom he addresses himself in these following Words: " Let this be your Wisdom and Honour, God hath given you the *Strong Holds*, give them back to God, by placing faithful Ministers in these eminent Places, that may undeceive the poor misled People, and season them with Principles of RELIGION and LOYALTY * " This Gentleman was so far from being an Enemy to Monarchy, that he lost his Benefice for refusing the Engagement, to be true to the Commonwealth without King and House of Lords. He was imprisoned in the Tower for plotting against the Rump; and was one of those deputed to wait upon the King at the Hague, to congratulate his Restoration †. Notwithstanding all which, my Friend has the Forehead to tell the World, That this very Man did publicly recommend the King's Murder as a lawful Action: Whereby he prophanes the Ashes of the Dead, and betrays a barbarous Disingenuity, which a generous Pagan would be ashamed of, and none but a High-Flyer can reflect upon without Blushing.

* *Cafe's Sermon*, p. 31.

† *Calamy's Life of Baxter*, p. 191.

As for Mr. Love, he was so far from *preaching up the Lawfulness of putting the King to Death*, that about a Year before the *Fact* was committed, he publish'd a Book, Intituled, *Works of Darknes brought to Light*, on purpose to warn the Nation of that Wicked Design, which the *Army* was then carrying on against him. "The *Seſtaries* (says he) "publish to the World in Print, That the *King* for "Misgovernment must lose his Life. What desperate Speeches have some *Independent Members* "utter'd against the *King*?" And so goes on, *bitterly exclaiming* against the *Army*, for entertaining Principles directly against Monarchy. Notwithstanding all which, our Author has so little Regard to *Truth* and *Honour*, as to make this Man a *Regicide*.

He has published the same *Calumny* concerning Mr. *Marſhal*, who preached a *Funeral Sermon* for the Famous Mr. *Pym*, and had both *Lords* and *Commons* for his *Auditory*: Amongst other high *Encomiums* which he bestows on that *Gentleman*, he mentions this as a Part of his *ſhining Character*, "That "when he lay languishing upon his Death Bed, "many of his Friends, who endeavoured to be near "him, have overheard him importunately pray for "the *King's Majesty* and his *Posterity*.*" And is it likely, That he should persuade the *Parliament* to cut off his *Head*, when he commends one of their most Eminent *Members* for *breathing out his Soul* in *pious Intercessions* for him.

For my part, I have cast an Eye upon some of the *Long Parliament Sermons*, but can find no such *sanguinary Expressions* as are charged on them, nor any *Violence* suggested against the *King's Person*. "As for the *Crown*, let *Mercy* and *Truth* be the "Supporters of it for ever," says Mr. *Vines*, an eminent *Presbyterian*, in his *Sermon* to the *Two Houses*

± *Vindication of London Ministers against Price*, p. 24. * *Marſhal's Ser*
Dec. 15, 1643.

in July 1644. " For my Loyal Affections to his Majesty (says Mr. *Ley*) I had rather my Body should be the Sheath of a two-edged Sword, than consent to lay any Hand upon him, but as the Angels did upon *Lot*, for his Deliverance from Danger †." " Might we but see our Sovereign Lord the *King* brought in *Peace* again to his own House, and to his Two Houses of Parliament, &c. (says Mr. *Newcomen*) I persuade my self, every honest Heart, that is Loyal to GOD, to the King, to the Publick Weal, would willingly speak it, and seal it †." †

THUS have I given the Reader a Taste of the Long Parliament Sermons that he may guess whether the Preachers were acted by such a Spirit of Bitterness and Rage as is pretended. I have also directed him where to find the Quotations I have cited, which my Opponent durst not do, lest his Forgeries should be detected.

'TIS urged by the Sons of Thunder, That the Dissenters discover their Approbation of the King's Murder, by celebrating their Annual Calves-Head Feasts on the 30th of January, in which the Royal Martyr is represented as a Beast, a Fool, and a Tyrant; and the Execution of that Prince is applauded as a most Glorious Heroick Action. Thus runs the Tale; and if a Proof be demanded of it, we have Mr. A's Word for it, that the Matter of Fact is undoubtedly true, the secret History of the Calves-Head Club is lately published. Thus have I heard an Old Woman gravely argue, That such or such a Thing must needs be true, For 'tis in Print (quoth she) and I have read it in a Ballad. But to make a few Remarks upon this worshipful History, the first Thing that renders it very suspicious, is, that the Author has not Forehead enough to prefix his own Name to it: 'Tis such a deformed and ugly Brat, that

† Epistle Dedicatory to a Sermon before the Commons, April 26. 1643.

‡ Sermon before the Commons November 5, 1642, p. 46.

none will father it. 'Tis true, in *Controversy* and *disputable Points*, we ought to regard the *Argument* more than the *Author*; but when *Matters of Fact* are advanced, and *Secret Histories* detected, we ought to be satisfied that the *Discoverer* is a Man of an establish'd Reputation, and approved Fidelity: But as for the *Calves-Head Historian*, we are wholly ignorant what Character he bears, and by consequence what Credit he deserves. 'Tis very likely, he may be one of these *Grubstreet Pamphleteers*, who are every other Day amusing the World with one *lying Wonder* or another, on purpose to employ the *Hawkers* and turn a Penny.

HOWEVER, if the *Author* conceals his own Name, does he produce any *Vouchers*? No; all the Satisfaction which he gives us is this, He happened to be in Company of a certain *active Whig*, who told him, He knew some of the *Club*, and had been invited, but never was present. In the next Page he tells us, That sometime after another *Gentlemen*, who had gone out of Curiosity to see their *Clubs*, furnished him with that Relation which Mr. A. has transcribed. If it be demanded, Who was this *active Whig*, or this *other Gentleman*? This is a *Secret* the World is not thought fit to be entrusted with. So that this *Story* has no Foundation to support it, but the *uncertain Hearsay* of - - we know not whom. If Enquiry be made concerning the *Guests*, this *unknown Gentleman* tells us, That the Company consisted wholly of *Independents* and *Anabaptists*; and that he was glad, for the *Honour* of the *Presbyterians*, to set down this Remark. Now, either this *Calves-Head History* is *true* or *false*; if *false*, no Consequence can be drawn from it; if it be *true*, there is not one *Presbyterian* belonging to the *Club*. And had Mr. A. one Spark of *Honour* or *Generosity* in his Bosom, he would never have accused the *Dissenters* in general of this Crime, when his own *Author* has, in such *express Words*, acquitted the most *considerable* Party amongst them. If there should be Ten or a Dozen *extravagant Fellows* amongst the *Anabaptists*

or *Independents*, I would fain learn a Reason, why that *Body of People* must be more responsible for such an execrable Club, than the *Established Church* for those Cabals of *Pick-pockets, Bawds, and Money-clippers*, who have professed themselves the *Members* of it.

BUT there have been *Atheistical Anthems* composed, — and these, without all Dispute, must have an *Author*, and this (as Mr. A.'s undoubted *History* informs us) was one Mr. *Benj. Bridgewater*, a Fellow that had his Education in *Trinity College in Cambridge**, and improv'd his *Rhyming Faculty* in that Noble Seat of the *Muses*. By this Instance, let the *Reader* judge of the *Conscience* of my *Opponent*, in making me Accountable for the *Lewd Poems* of one of his own University RAKES.

IN the three next Pages he pursues his Old Trade of *Scandal* and *Defamation*: He charges me with approving those Principles which brought the Martyr to the Block: Affirms, That I do belong to the same Set of Men by Succession, that do yearly celebrate the Memories of the Regicides; and that I do maintain their murdering Principles. All which are Calumnies as BLACK as HELL, and as contrary to Truth as *Belzebub* himself is. I desire this Gentleman to inform me, What makes me guilty of Crimes committed before I was born, which I do neither imitate nor approve of? King *Edward* the Second was murder'd by the Contrivance of the Bishop of *Hereford*†; but I never heard that his Successors think themselves responsible for his Villany. And I know not why the Contagion should descend farther amongst other People.

IV. HAVING proved (I hope to the Reader's Satisfaction) that the *Pro-byterians* are not chargeable with the *King's Murder*, the next Thing I am

* *Palmer's Vindic.* p. 42. *Westly's Reply* p. 66. † *Hist. of England*, Vol. 1. p. 212.

to prove is, That they did contribute their *good Offices* to the *Restoration* of the *Royal Family* : For the *Truth* of which, we need no clearer Evidence than that of the Lord *Clarendon*. When *Cromwel* was dead, and his Son *Richard* degraded by a wild *Enthusiastick Army*, there were several Designs set on Foot in *Favour* of K. CHARLES II, at that time an *Exile*. That which was best digested and most like to succeed was “ the Surprisal of *Lyn*, a maritime Town, and of great Importance. This was undertaken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who was (says that Noble Author in great Credit with the *Presbyterians*. ^{||}” At the same time, Major General *Masse*y undertook to secure *Glecester*. “ And Sir George *Booth*, a Person of one of the best Fortunes and Interest in *Cheshire*, and of absolute Power with the *Presbyterians*, promised to possess himself of the City and Castle of *Chester*. With him joined Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and were both ready to unite entirely with the *King’s Friends* in those Counties &c.” ’Tis true, these Designs did not succeed, and *Booth’s Army* was defeated by *Lambert* ; but the *Presbyterians* shewed their good Will, and many of ’em lost their Lives in the Attempt. The Lord *Fairfax* is represented as “ a perfect *Presbyterian* in Judgment, and that *Cromwel* had the Ascendant over him purely by his Dissimulation and pretence of Conscience &c.” And when *Monk* began to stir in *Scotland*, this Nobleman marched into *York*, attended with the “ principal Gentlemen of that large County, with a full Resolution to declare for the *King* †.” When General *Monk* came up to *London*, he was present at *Northumberland-House* in “ a Conference with that Earl, and other Eminent Persons, who were looked upon as the Heads and Governours of the MODERATE *Presbyterian Party*, who most of them would

|| *Clarendon’s Hist. Vol. 3. p. 521.* † *Ib. p. 522.* • *Ibid. p. 35.*
 † *Ib. d. p. 524.*

" have been contented, their own Security being
 " provided for, that the *King* should be restored to
 " his full Rights, and the *Church* to its Possessions.
 " In this Conference the *King's* Restoration was pro-
 " posed in direct Terms, as absolutely necessary to
 " the Peace of the Kingdom*." In this Design
 these *Gentlemen* had the hearty Concurrence of the
Ministers, " who, in their Sermons, discoursed of
 " the several Obligations in the *Covenant*, That,
 " without exposing themselves to the Danger of
 " Naming the *King* which they did not long forbear,
 " every Body understood, they thought it necessary
 " the People should return to their *Allegiance* †."

IF we cross the Seas, and see what was doing in
Ireland, we are told, " That the *Ld. Broghil* and Sir
Charles Coote, notwithstanding the jealousy that was
 " between them, joined with such other Persons
 " who were *Presbyterians*, who all concurred in seiz-
 " ing upon the Persons who had been put in by *Lam-*
bert, or the *Rump Parliament*, and submitting to
 " the Order of General *Monk*, the rather, because
 " they did imagine that he intended to serve the
 " King †." Thus far the Lord-Chancellor, a *Roy-*
alist.

IF we consult *Whitlock*, who was of the *Repub-*
lican Faction, he will inform us, " That the City of
 " *London* was generally inclined to the bringing in of
 " the *King*; and that the *Presbyterians* there, and in
 " the Countries, joined with the Cavaliers herein ‡."
 And upon *Monk's* Re-admission of the Secluded Mem-
 bers, he makes this Observation, " That the Spirit of
 " the People generally, Especially the *Presbyterians*,
 " ran that way; and the *Cavaliers* agreed to it, as
 " the Way to bring in the *King* §."

'TIS known to every one who reads our *English*
Histories, how General *Monk* was assisted by the *Presby-*
terian Scots, in his Expedition against *Lambert*. When

* Clarendon's *Hist* Vol. 3. 572.

† Ibid. p. 573.

‡ Ibid. p. 589.

‡ Whitlock's *Memorials*, p. 697.

• Ibid. p. 627.

he came to *London*, the Eyes of all Men were fixed on him, to see what Course he would steer to *compose* the *Distractions* of the *Kingdom*. The Friends to Monarchy we may be sure were not wanting to make their *Addresses* to him. Mr. *Thomas Bampffield* (who Died not long since, a Noted and Strict *Dissenter* in this City) was sent up by the *Gentlemen* of the *West**. 'Twas by the Perswasion of Dr. *Jacomb*, and other *Presbyterian* Ministers, that the LORD MAYOR of LONDON invited *Monk* into the City, to join with them against the *Rump*†. And this was indeed that very *Act* which turned the Scales, and determined all things in favour of the Long Exiled MONARCH. In one Word, either General *Monk* was a *Presbyterian* or a *Church-man*; if the former, then the *Glory* of the *Restoration* belongs to Men of that Character; if he were of the latter Denomination, then we have an Instance of another great *Church-man*, who, according to Mr. *A's* Logick, was a *Regicide* and a *Rebel*: For this very Man went down into *Scotland* a Lieutenant-General under *Oliver Cromwel*, in Order to fight against an Army commanded by King CHARLES II, in his own Person, and was very Instrumental in crushing the *Royal Interest* in that Kingdom.

LET us once more hear what the late Bishop of *Sarum* says on this Head, in his *Sermon Jan, 30 1680*. Having affirmed that many of the most considerable *Dissenters* did openly declare against the *King's Murder*, he adds, " And many of them were no less
 " Active and Industrious, and were indeed highly
 " Instrumental in bringing home his Majesty that
 " now Reigns. At the *Restoration* (says a Noble
 " Peer, famous for his frequent Speeches) the *Presby-*
 " *terians* were as Zealous for that as any Man what-
 " ever."

* *Baxter's Life*, p. 214. † *Ibid.* p. 205. ‡ *Annals of Queen Anne*, vol. 5. p. 446.

THAT learned Divine who has drawn up the *Compleat History of England*, and whose Merits have lately been rewarded with a Mitre, ascribes that Indulgence which King CHARLES II manifested to the *Dissenters* just after his Restoration, "To a generous Sense of Honour and Gratitude to the *Presbyterian Party*, who had most of them contributed very much to his easy and happy Return*."

IF that great Ornament both to the *Law* and *Gospel*; the Lord Chief-Justice *Hale*, may be allowed to give Sentence in the Case, he will tell us, "That many of the *Non-Cons* had merited highly in the Business of the *King's Restoration*, and at least deserved that the Terms of *Conformity* should not be made stricter then they were before the War†." Will Mr. *A.* appeal from the Judgment of this Renowned *Lawyer*? I am willing to refer my self to the Determination of King CHARLES II, who in a *Declaration* published *October* 25. 1660, has this remarkable Expression: "when we were in *Holland*, (says his Majesty) we were attended by many grave and learned Ministers from hence, who were look'd upon as the most able and principal Assertors of the *Presbyterian Opinions*; and to our great Comfort and Joy, found them Persons Full of AFFECTION to us, of ZEAL for the Peace of Church and State, and neither Enemies to *Episcopacy* or *Liturgy*, but modestly to desire such Alteration in either, as, without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers." Here we have the King himself declaring, that he found the *Presbyterians* Full of Affection to his Person. And they who have left us the *Records* of that Time, who were best acquainted with the *Transactions* of it, and saw the most secret Springs by which the greater Wheels were moved, do all unanimously agree, That the Restoration of the *Royal Family* was very much promoted by Men of that Denomination. Notwithstanding all

* *Hist. of England*, Vol. 3 p. 239. † *Conform. 2d. Plea for Noncon.* p. 65.
 ‡ *Hist. of England*, Vol. 3 p. 225.

which, we have an *Upstart Scribler*, who Out-stares the *brightest* and most *glaring Truths*, and is not ashamed to tell the World that *this is one of Mr. Baxter's Stories, and most abominably false*. But what will not that Man dare to say, who has surrendred up himself to the *furious Transports* of his own *unruly Passions*?

BUT let us hear what Mr. A. offers in order to prove his *Negative*; *Why, if this be true, they acted against their avowed Principles*: But this is absolutely false, nor can *Antimonarchical Principles* be imputed to Us without a *Barbarous Injustice*. Again, they broke through all *their Covenants and Engagements, and were the most perjured Wretches in the World*. Whether this must be imputed to his *Ignorance* or *Malice*, or a *Complication* of both, I cannot say. As for the *Covenant*, the *Preservation of the King's Person* was particularly promised in it. 'Tis true, when *Cromwel's Army* had garbled the *Parliament*, and cut off the *King*, there was an *Engagement* obtruded upon the Nation, in which People promised to be *True and Faithful to the Common-Wealth of England, as it was establiſh'd without a King and House of Lords*. But this was no *Presbyterian Contrivance*; Mr. *Baxter* not only refused it himself, but, wrote and preached against it*. And many of their Ministers lost their *Benefices* for their *Non-compliance*. On the other Hand, the *Cavaliers* generally swallowed it, in Order to compound more easily for their *Estates*; and no less a Man than *Ep. Sanderson* did, at that time, endeavour to smooth this rugged Pill, by a mollifying Interpretation, that it might slide more glibly down their *Throats*. Nay, that learned *Prelate* has left upon Record, That very many Men, known to be well-affected to the *King* and his Party, did subscribe this *Engagement*†; and that many prudent and conscientious Men of the *Royal Party*, as well *Divines* and *Lawyers*, as others, had taken it||: And these, according to Mr. A's *Logick*, were the *most perjured*

* Baxter's penitent Confession, p. 25. † Sanderson's Nine Cases, &c. p. 94. || Ibid. p. 107.

Wretches in the World. Thus when a Sword is put into a Mad-man's Hands, he wounds his own Friends with it.

BUT we are told, That Mr. Baxter, and the rest of his Perswasion, endeavoured to dissuade General Monk from his Intention to restore the King; telling him, That if the King returned, the Power of Godliness would be lost in this Nation, and that the Body of the London Ministers were of the same Opinion. We have indeed this Story of Mr. Baxter cooked up by Mr. Long, who in this Instance made Brick without Straw, and obtruded a Tale upon the World without producing any Vouchers for it, or letting us know how the Secret came to be revealed to him. And whereas he mentions only Baxter, my Antagonist, to let us see how impossible it is for a LYE to slip thro' his Fingers, without some Additions of his own, hooks in those of his Perswasion and the London Ministers, when his own Author takes no Notice of them.

As for the Calumny trumped up against Mr. Baxter, it will appear incredible to any one who considers how odious he was to the Republican Faction, and how graciously he was received by King Charles at his Restoration. In 1659, one Henry Stubbe writ a Treatise in Defence of Siry Henry Vane and the Good Old Cause, in which he accuses Mr. Baxter of bespattering the Army: "They (says he) who have avowed the Punishment of the late King to be condign, ought in Justice to demand exemplary Satisfaction of Mr. Richard Baxter, who hath dealt with them more bitterly and undeservedly than all the virulent Pamphlets put together, which have come out since these Wars *." Which is sufficient to satisfy the World, that he was no Friend to those ambitious Legions who had established their own Grandeur upon the Ruines of the English Monarchy.

On the 30th of April 1660, Mr. Baxter preached before the Healing Parliament, in which he exhorted

* Stubbe's Malice Retuked, p. 20.

them to Give unto CÆSAR the Things that were CÆSAR'S †; and the very next Day the King was voted Home. May 8. the King was proclaimed in London. May 10. Mr. Baxter preach'd the *Thanksgiving Sermon* before the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen †. When his Majesty was peaceably restored to the *Throne* of his *Ancestors*, Mr. Baxter was sworn *One of his Chaplains in Ordinary* *; and a *Bishoprick* was offered him. Had Mr. Baxter been indeed an *Enemy* to the *Restoration*, and one that endeavoured to prevent it, Can any Man in his Wits believe that King CHARLES would have taken him into his *Family*, and made him his *Domestick Chaplain*? A Man must first abandon his Reason, and shake Hands with Humanity itself, before such a *senseless* Imagination can find any Harbour in his Bosom.

'Tis objected further, That *after Oliver's Death*, the *Presbyterian Divines* sent *Addresses* to Richard Cromwel, and Mr. Baxter dedicated a *Book* to him as Lord Protector. But will this prove that they were against the *Restoration* two Years afterwards, when a *potent Faction* and an *imperious Army* had pulled him down and laid him in the Dust? If so, 'twill prove the same against General Monk and his Officers, who paid this *Young Protector* the same Compliments that the rest of the Nation did ††. The Truth on't is, tho' I cannot find that ever he was address'd by *Presbyterian Divines* in a distinct Body, yet his *Authority* was recognized by the *Armies* at Land, and the *Navies* at Sea: by the *Ambassadors* of Foreign States and Potentates, and by almost all the Counties, great Towns and Cities in the Kingdom; whilst the King's Affairs seem'd to be absolutely *desperate*. Why then must People be so *severely* censured for submitting to a *Government* which they had no power to shake off? Sure I am, our *High-flyers* may lay their Hands upon their *Mouths*, (were not *Modesty* a Stranger in their Gates) when so many of the *Tribe* swore *Allegiance*

† Baxter's Works, Vol. 4. p. 806. † Ibid. p. 807. * Baxter's Life; p. 231. †† Whitlock's Memorials, p. 676.

to King WILLIAM, as to a King *De Facto*, and not *De Jure*; that is, in plain *English*, an *Usurper*, and not a *Lawful Prince*. He is a mighty Stranger in our *Israel*, and to the Affairs thereof, who imagines that they were all *Dissenters* who paid their Complements to the then *Protector*. I have by me an *Elegy*, written upon *Oliver Cromwel* by one who has since worn a *Mitre* in the *Church*; nor did his Lordship ever lye under the Scandal of a *Whig*, or a *Low-Churchman*.

I WILL not deny but *Pamphlets* might be scattered up and down *against* the *Restoration*; but this was not done by the *Presbyterians*, but by the *Faction* of the young Sir *Henry Vane*, who are represented by the Lord *Clarendon* as great Enemies to *Presbytery*, as to the *King* or the *Church* †.

To stop the Mouths of the insulting *Faction*, I minded my Opponent of king CHARLES's Grand-mother, who (tho' a *Sovereign Monarch*) had her Head chopt off at the Solicitation of a *Church of England* Parliament, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the first Man named amongst her Judges. If the Reader be willing to know the *Quality* of this Lady, she was *Sovereign Queen of Scotland*, *Queen Dowager of France*, and *next Heir* to the Crown of *England*. Nay, the *Roman Catholics* will tell our *Churchmen*, That they Beheaded their own Queen *De Jure*, tho' not *De Facto*; and that she had a better Title to the *English Crown* than the Person that wore it. As to Matter of Fact, 'tis certain, that Queen *Elizabeth* was (by an Act of Parliament made in the 28th Year of her Father King *Henry VIII.*) declared *Illegitimate*, and the *Marriage* between that King and her Mother was adjudged to be *utterly void* by Archbishop *Crammer*, Judiciously sitting for the same, as the said *Statute* expresses it. Most certain it is, the two Sister Queens could not be both lawfully begotten, their two Mothers being living when the younger of them was born. 'Tis true, by an Act of Parliament

† Clarendon's History, Vol. 2. p. 292.

made the 35th of *Hen. VIII.* the Crown was settled upon the Princess *Elizabeth*, and her Issue, in case her Brother *Edward* and Sister *Mary* should die without Issue: And this, with the Desires of the whole Nation, I doubt not, gave her a good Title. But if she were indeed *Illegitimate*, and the Doctrine preached up 20 or 30 Years ago be true, 'That, according to the *Divine Institution*, the next in the Right Line, must always succeed to the *English Crown*, this poor condemned Queen of *Scots* should have been advanced to a *Throne* instead of a *Scaffold*. But this is a Controversy in which I shall not concern my self, the *Catholicks* and *High-Flyers* may determine it between them.

BUT as for the *Scottish Queen*, our Author tells the World, 'That this very *Lady* *flashes Shame enough in the Face of me and my Party*, to make us hide away our *Heads for ever*; for the *Brethren* in Scotland rebelled against her, and forced her to resign her Crown. I have heard before now, 'That one Man may steal a Horse better than another look over the Hedge. The Church of *England Men*, belike, can cut off a *Queen's Head* with a better Countenance, than other People can deprive her of her Crown. But to make a few *Remarks* on this *History*.

1. THIS Gentleman tells the World in his *Reply*, p. 56. 'That *Episcopacy* had been abolished in Scotland but eight Years before King *Charles the First* was born. That is, in the Year 1592 *; more than 20 Years before: So that if his own *Calculation* be true, she was deposed by her *Episcopal Subjects*. But Mr. A. can contradict himself as well as the *Truth*, in order to revile the *Presbyterians*.

2. WHATEVER were the *Principles* of those that dethroned her, they were justified in that very thing by the Church of *England Parliament*; who thus address themselves in a *Petition* to Queen *Elizabeth*. " We your Majesty's most humble and faithful Sub-
" jects in Parliament assembled, &c.--- A *Queen* of late

* *History of England*, Vol. 2. p. 495.

“ Time, and yet thro’ her own Acts now JUSTLY
 “ no Queen; a nigh Kinswoman of your Majesty’s,
 “ Lady Mary Stuart, late Queen of Scots, &c. *.”
 So that if the Scots did ill in depriving her of her
Dignity, the *English* involved themselves in the very
same Guilt, by publickly approving what they had
 done. By which Instance we may see, That the
Church of England has not always been such an *Enemy*
 to the *deposing* Doctrine as is pretended, before they
 made the Experiment upon King James.

3. WITH what Conscience can this Gentleman
 object to me, and my Party, the hard Usage of this
 Lady in Scotland, when she met with a much worse in
 England? Where, instead of a Sanctuary, she met with
 a Goal; and, after a long Imprisonment, lost her Head
 upon a Scaffold. But ’tis said, (quoth Mr. A.) that
 she was carrying on a Design with the Papists against
 Queen Elizabeth. True, but she had been imprisoned
 15 or 16 Years before any such Conspiracy was formed.
 And no great Wonder, if Impatience under Confinement
 did transport her to unwarrantable Courses.
 Again; We are told, She was condemn’d by lawful
 Authority. How! Is this the Language of a High-
 flyer? Have not almost all the Pulpits in England
 sounded with this Doctrine, That Kings and Queens
 are accountable to none but GOD Almighty for any
 of their Actions? And does he now talk of a lawful
 Authority to Try and Condemn them? Sure Father
 Lestly must correct his awkward Pupil for such an
 Heterodoxy.

WELL, tho’ the Archbishop was named in the
 Commission amongst her Judges, ’tis plain he disliked
 the Baseness. How far this is from being true, let
 Mr. Camden be heard: “ When some of the Com-
 “ missioners had been at Fotheringay Castle, and sum-
 “ moned the Queen of Scots before ’em, they ad-
 “ journ’d the Court till the 25th of October, to the
 “ Star-Chamber at Westminster. On the said 25th of
 “ October, ALL the COMMISSIONERS met, ex-

“ cept the *Earls* of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who
 “ were both *sick* at that Time, and after the *Witnesses*
 “ were heard, *Sentence* was pronounc’d against the
 “ *Queen* of *Scots*, and confirm’d by the *Seals* and
 “ *Subscriptions* of the *Commissioners* *. So far is that
 which our Author has advanced from being true, that
 the *Archbishop* acted not in the Business, that he con-
 curred with others in *subscribing* Her *Condemnation*.

’Tis equally false what he advances in the same
 Page, That they were the noted *Favourers* of the *Dissen-
 ters* that prevail’d with *Queen Elizabeth* to *Sign* the
Warrant for Her *Execution*. That this is the Conceit
 of a visionary Scribler, appears by the *Journals* of *Parlia-
 ment* during the Reign of that *Queen*, printed by Sir
Symond D’ews; out of which I have extracted this
 following Relation. A *Parliament* being convened
 about the *Queen* of *Scots* Business, on the 7th of *No-
 vember* 1586, the *Commons* came up, and desired a
Conference with some of the *Lords*, who chose out of
 their own Body a *Committee* of 21 Persons, amongst
 whom were the two *Archbishops*, the *Bishops* of *Lon-
 don*, *Durham*; *Winchester* and *Worcester*: this *Com-
 mittee* drew up a *Petition*, in which they desire her
Majesty, That *Directions* be given for further Pro-
 ceeding against the *Scottish Queen*, according to the
 true Meaning of the Statute: Because (say they) up-
 on advised and great Consultation, we cannot find
 that there is any possible Means to provide for your
Majesty’s Safety, but by the just and speedy *Execution*
 of the said *Queen*. This *Petition* being agreed to by
 both *Houses*, was presented to *Queen Elizabeth*, the
 12th of *October*. The Lord-Chancellor on the 15th
 acquainted the House with Her *Majesty’s* Answer, in
 which she required the *Lords* to advise amongst them,
 if some other Course might be taken without pro-
 ceeding to Extremity of *Execution*. This Message
 was debated *October* 22d; and the *Lords* being par-
 ticularly asked every one his several Voice, answer-
 ed with one Consent, They could find no other Way.

* *H. J. of England*, Vol. 2. p. 525.

'The *Commons* being unanimous in the same Opinion, both *Houses* agreed upon this *Answer* to be returned Her Majesty, That having often conferred and debated the Question according to Her Highness's Commandment, they could find no other Way than what was set down in the *Petition* *. This is enough to convince the Reader, that they were *Church-men*, and not *Dissenters*, who acted this *Tragedy* against a *Crowned Head*; and that my *Antagonist* deserves but little Credit, when to serve his own purpose, he durst confront the most *Authentick Records* of the *Kingdom*. And so much for the *Scotish Queen*.

I shall crave the Reader's Patience to mind our *Author* of One Story more. Whilst King JAMES was on his *Throne*, he published to all the World, That his *Queen* had born him a Son. A Day of *Publick Thanksgiving* was appointed for the *Birth* of this *Young Prince*, being *June 17th*, 1688, in *London*, and ten Miles round; and *July 1.* in other parts of the Nation. A *Form of Prayer*, as usual, was drawn up for that Occasion, and sent to all the *Parishes* in *England*. The first *Collect* begins thus: *O Almighty and Everlasting Lord God of Heaven and Earth---We devoutly offer our most hearty Thanks to thy Divine Majesty, that thou hast given our Dread Sovereign his Heart's Desire, and hast not denied us the Request of our Lips, in blessing Him and our Gracious Queen with a SON, and all his Subjects with a PRINCE---* With several like Expressions. I never heard of any *Clergyman* that refused to read this *Form*, or that was prosecuted for such an Omission. A little after this, King James made a Trip to *France*, where, upon his Death, the Young Spark caused himself to be Proclaimed *King of England, Scotland, and Ireland*: Upon which he was, by *Act of Parliament*, Attainted of *High Treason*, and adjudged to suffer *Death* as a *Traitor Convict*. So that, upon Ballancing Accounts between me and my *Antagonist*, the Case thus stands: King CHARLES was put to Death by an *Insolent Victorious Army*;

the *Presbyterians* did protest against it ; We do, before *Angels* and *Men*, disclaim our *Approbation* of it. On the other Hand, the *Church-men* did contribute to the cutting off his *Grandmother's* Head, an Absolute and Independent *Queen* : And have made a *Law*, now in Force, to Hang and Quarter a certain *Gentleman*, whom they, in their publick *Prayers* confessed to God Almighty was his *Grandson*.

LET not *Envy* hence suggest, as if I had a *Correspondence* with the Court of *Urbino*, for whose ever Son the *Pretender* be, it doth not in the least shock my Allegiance to King *GEORGE*. When the *Throne* was vacant, I doubt not but the Nation might as well pass him by, as it has since done by more than thirty *Popish Princes*, who are more nearly related to the *Crown* than the Family of *Hannover*. When I *abjured* the Prince of *Wales*, I neither *abjured* my *Principles* nor my *Prayers* : And nothing is desired of those that did, but that they would have so much *Modesty* as not to *Rant* and *Rave* against their *Innocent Neighbours* ; and that the *Rehearser* and his *Pupil*, who have belloyed about the Nation this Impudent *Falshood*, That the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* are Implacable Enemies to the Name and Family of the *STUARTS*, would reflect upon the Case of that *Unfortunate* Lady *Mary Stuart*, from whom His present *Majesty* is in a direct Line descended.

I hinted in my last at the Fate of King *James*, who was Deposed by such *Churchmen* as had Sworn 'twas not *Lawful*, upon any *Pretence* whatsoever, to take up Arms against him, or those that were *Commissioned* by him. But, says my *Antagonist*, Is there no *Difference* between the Murder of King *Charles* and the Abdicacion of King *James*? The Question should rather be, Whether there was any *Difference* between the *Conduct* of the *Presbyterians* towards the former, and the *Churchmen* to the latter ? And upon Enquiry, there will be little or none found. The *Episcopal Party* did take up Arms, and fight against King *James* ; the *Presbyterians* did no more against his *Father*, whose *Murder* was contrived and carried on by Men of another *Kidney*.

How-

HOWEVER, 'tis urg'd that *the Revolution was not founded on the Deposing Doctrine, but on the Abdication.* 'Tis none of my Business to quarrel about Words; as to *Matter of Fact*, the *Gentlemen of the Church of England* did Invite over the Prince of Orange, and Joyn his Army. They entered into an Association here at Exeter, in which they engaged to GOD and one another, "That if any Attempts were made upon his Highness, they would pursue all that were found in Arms against them, to their Ruin and Destruction*." Nor was the King himself exempted from this Menace. This Engagement was subscribed by the Nobility, and divers Bishops†. After this, the King had a Message brought him when in Bed by three Lords, to leave his Palace the next Morning: And when his Fears and Fate had hurried him into France, his Male-Administration was voted a Breach of the Original Contract; and the vacant Throne filled by another Prince. And if this was not a Deposing of him, I confess I understand not the meaning of the Word, and would gladly be informed.

IN my last I urged, That Rebellion ought not to be imputed to the present Generation of Dissenters, whose Loyalty has been Untainted for 20 Years; whilst many declared Church-men have been Hanged for Treason, and a Design to Murder the King: Concluding, that the Presbyterians are no more accountable for the Actions of Cromwel and Bradshaw, than the Church is for the Conspiracy of Perkins and Friend. This my Friend will needs have to be a gross and wilful Mistake? Had these Men Armies at their Heels? Did the Clergy encourage this Conspiracy? Doth this Gentleman live in England? Or doth the Sun shine at Noon Day? When these True-Blue Church-men sent over Charnock to France, they engaged to join the French Army with 3 or 4000 Horse||; as great a Body of Cavalry as Cromwel ever commanded at one

* Hist. of England, Vol. 3 p 496. † Life of King William, Vol. 1. p 12, 395. Append. p. 9. || Life of King William Vol. 3. p. 152.

time. When they came to the Place of Execution, there appeared three *Clergymen*, Mr. Collier, Cook and Snat, to sanctify the *Villany*, and consecrate *Murder* and *Rebellion*, by giving the *Absolution* of the *Church* to these *Traytors*, who never manifested the least *Remorse*, for what they had done †.

Not long before this, the Bishop of *Ely* (Dr. *Turner*) was engaged in *Preston's Plot*, and a Proclamation was issued out to Apprehend him, with other *Traytors* *. So that if Mr. *A.* will stand to his own Word, he must acknowledge that Churchmen may be *Rebels and Regicides as well as other People*.

THE World is further informed by him, That the avowed Principles of Me and my Followers are *Antimonarchical*; an *Accusation* as contrary to Truth as Light is to Darkness. And I do most solemnly protest, that I know no *Dissenter* who denies a mixt *Monarchy*, as ours is, to be the *Best Constituted Government* in the whole World. But this is a small Matter to what is added in the same Paragraph, *That no one Reign can be named, in which we have not promoted Rebellion, Sacrilege, &c. and carried on some murdering Designs*. Have we done so in the Reigns of King *WILLIAM* and Queen *ANNE*? Not one *Reign* is to be excepted, according to this *Author*. Our *English Proverb* says, *That Travellers have a Privilege of Lying, because none can confute 'em*; But should a Fellow talk of *Prodigies* and *Wonders* in his own Neighbourhood, he would be kick'd out of all civil Company. When Mr. *A.* tells of Things done 50 or 100 Years since, the *Tale*, however false in it self, may yet go down with the *credulous Mob*, for whom his Pieces are chiefly calculated: But that a Man should publish a *Calumny* which every Body knows to be false, and which is confronted by the *Experience* of the whole *Kingdom*, 'tis enough to astonish *Earth* and *Heaven*! I had almost said, enough to put *Sucifer* out of Countenance, and make a *Fury* blush!

† *Hist. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 713.*

* *Ibid. p. 575.*

My Friend having spent his random Shot, pretends to come to a close Engagement, and to be more particular ; and to begin with Queen ELIZABETH, who was no sooner on the Throne, but these Saints began to roar against her Privilege. If this be true of the Old Puritans, why are they imitated by such as pretend the greatest Enmity unto 'em ? For the late Queen made publick Complaint, That divers of the present Clergy have made *Invasions* upon her Royal Supremacy*. I hope Mr. A. will not hence infer, that they are all *Rebels*.

BEFORE I proceed further ; 'tis necessary I should tell the World, whence he has borrowed those *Tales* which fill up several of his Pages : 'tis from a Book call'd, *The History of Faction*, printed by one of King JAMES's Officers, in the Year 1705, who pretends to give an *Account* of the *Presbyterians* in all Reigns. He tells us, That divers of that *Seēt* were hang'd for setting the City of London on Fire ; than which, nothing can be more *notoriously* false. He will have it, That these Men impeach'd the Lord Chancellour Hyde † ; when, in Truth, the Impeachment was carried up to the Lords against him by the late Sir Edw. Seymour**, who was never before reckon'd a *Presbyterian*. He tells us too, That in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, the Puritans had *Leicester, Walsingham*, and others, for their *Patrons* ; and amongst the Bishops, *Hooper* in particular † ; whilst this good Bishop was burnt to Ashes many Years before. Now, is not this a pretty Fellow to write *Histories* ? However, he rails heartily, lies impudently, and gives the *Dissenters* no Quarter ; which recommends him to my Antagonist. As for *Chronology* and *strict Truth*, these are Trifles beneath his Notice and Observation. Out of this Worshipful Romance, he furnishes us with Abundance of *Sories* for five or six successive Reigns, and filches many of his most beautiful Expressions. By

* *Annals of Q. Anne*, Vol. 5. p. 484. † *Hist. of Faction*, p. 52. ** *Hist. of Eng.* Vol. 3 p. 267. † *Hist. Fact.* 1. 13.

him we are told, That those wicked *Puritans* call'd Queen ELIZABETH the *Empress of Hell*, and *supreme Offender*. If we demand, Who they were that gave this Language? Or, what Authority can be produc'd for it? This is an *impertinent Curiosity* in which we must not be gratified.

'Tis true, there was a Fellow that *stab'd* the Picture of that Princess, with his Dagger, and this was *Hacket*, who, in a Frantick Humour, proclaim'd himself the Monarch of the whole World, and even *Jehovah* himself; and was *hang'd* for his *Blasphemies*. What *ignorant Malice* may now suggest concerning this Wretch, I will not determine; but a *Learned Doctor* of the Church, who wrote the *Ecclesiastical History* of that Age, assures the World, "That the *Presbyterians* did as cordially *detest* the *Blasphemies* of *Hacket*, as any of the *Episcopal Party* *."

'Tis confessed there were some *Libels* publish'd at that Time against the *Bishops*, written with too much *Scurrility* and *Bitterness*; and the *Authors* were severely punish'd. Dr. *Fuller* tells us, That the discreeter Sort of *Puritans* resolv'd upon a Debate, That these Books were unfit to be read or published. "This I speak (*says the Doctor*) on certain Knowledge from the Mouths of such whom I must believe.†"

NEXT to Queen ELIZABETH succeeded King JAMES, who, says Mr. A. was persecuted by these *Loyalists* even Four Months before he was born. 'Tis true, when his Mother was with Child of him, her Secretary was murder'd in her Presence; which, doubtless, was a great *Barbarity*, and a Wonder that it had not caused her to *miscarry*. But who were the *Authors* of this *Tragedy*? Why, 'Twas countenanced by her *Jealous Husband*, the Lord *Darnley*, who had his Education in *England*, and professed the *Protestant Religion*, at least whilst

* *Fuller's Church History*, L. 9; p. 206. † *Ibid.* p. 193.

here. But the Prime Contriver of the Mischief was the Earl of *Mortoun* †, who always held a strict Correspondence with the Court of *England*, during the *Minority* of King *JAMES*.^{||} He was sometime *Regent* of *Scotland*: And the *Historian* tell us, “ That during his Power he maintained his *Bishops*, “ and pressed his own Injunctions and Conformity “ with *England*; that he was Stout, Courageous, “ and ever for the Cause of *Religion*: But that he “ was set for the Estate of *Bishops**.” A Rich *Parsonage* was offered to Mr. *Andrew Melvin*, a Leading *Presbyterian*, provided he would not insist in his Course against *Bishops* ††. Some time after, this Earl was condemned to Dye for Concealing the *King’s* Murder; and it was laid to his Charge by the *Ministers* that visited him, “ That he had been an Authorizer of *Bishops*, and other Corruptions^{|||}.” So that the *Grand Promoter* of the *Scotish* Tumults, and the *Deposing* of *Q. Mary*, was in truth a Man of *Episcopal* Principles.

WE now come to the Reign of King *CHARLES*; and we are told *That the Outrages of the Party surpass Imagination*. That there were, during the Heat of a *Civil War*, *Violences* committed by both Parties that cannot be Justified, will be denied I believe by none: But if the Question be Whether the Armies of the *King* or *Parliament* were more *Outrageous* and *Insolent*? Let the *Ld. Clarendon* be Umpire, who cannot be accused of *Partiality* in favour of the *Round-heads*. He owns, “ That *Sobriety* and *Industry* very Virtues “ not so well practised in the *King’s* Quarters as in the “ *Parliaments***.” That the *King’s* Army at *Cirencester* “ were equally injurious to Friend and Foe ††. That “ Care was not taken by them to observe those *Articles*, which had been made upon the Surrender of “ *Towns* †††. That the *King’s* Commanders grew “ insensibly into all *Licence*, *Disorder* and *Impiety****.

† *Melvils Memorials*, p. 56. † *Hist. of Engl.* Vol 2, p. 403. * *Calver-*
wood’s Hist of Scotland, p. 80. †† *Ibid.* p. 74. ††† *Ibid.* p. 117.
 ** *Clarendon’s Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 112. †† *Ibid.* p. 97. ††† *Ibid.* p. 258.
 *** *Ibid.* p. 295.

" That his *Horse* committed horrid *Outrages* and
 " *Barbarities* *. That the *Counties* in which his
 " Majesty hoped to raise new Forces, had been vex-
 " ed and worn out with the *Oppression* of his own
 " Troops, and the *License* of his *Governours* †. That
 " Sir *Richard Greenvil* exercised strange *Acts of Ty-*
 " *ranny* over *Devon* and *Cornwal* ‡. That *Goring's*
 " Horse committed intolerable Insolencies and Disor-
 " ders **. And when *Leicester* was taken by Storm,
 " even *CHURCHES* and *HOSPITALS* became a Prey
 " to the greedy *Soldiers* ††." And is not this a pretty
Description of a *Church-militant Army*, by one of its
 own Friends? On the other Hand, my Lord owns,
 " That the *Parliamentarians* grew into great *Disci-*
 " *pline*, *Diligence* and *Sobriety* ‡‡. That the Earl of
 " *Essex*, by his *Civility* and the very good *Discipline*
 " in his Army, wrought very much upon the Peo-
 " ple *. " And that *Fairfax's* Army attained the
 " Reputation of being in excellent *Discipline*; and
 " that Officers and Soldiers were Men of EXTRAOR-
 DINARY TEMPER and SOBRIETY ††. " I leave the
Reader to compare these Things, and then judge,
 Whether Mr. A. has any Reason for these *tragicall*
Outcries which he has made.

As for the Reign of King CHARLES the Second,
 if some were wheedled into a Plot, they were not all
Dissenters. And if Dr. Owen was for killing the
King, as is pretended, whence came it to pass that he
 was never prosecuted on that Account.

I hope it will not be objected to us, That the *Dissen-*
ters resisted King JAMES, when our Brethren did the
 same. But they presented him with flattering Addresses---
 When that Prince exchanged their Chains and Fetters
 for Liberty and Freedom, I think they could no less
 than give him Thanks. That there were some Ad-
 dresses too fulsome and extravagant, I will own; tho'
 I never signed any, nor could I write Alan at that
 Time. But was he not first Flattered by the Church

* Clarendon's History, Vol. 2. p. 458. † Ibid. p. 509. ‡ Ibid. p. 515.

** Ibid. p. 518. †† Ibid. p. 504. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 295. * Ibid. p. 382.

†† Ibid. Vol. 3. p. 52.

of England? 'Twas upon his Account, whilst Duke of York, that the *University of Cambridge* told King CHARLES, *That no Religion, Law, Fault or Forfeiture, could alter the hereditary Right of Succession to the English Crown* *. Since which, this Succession hath been altered, and some of these Gentlemen have doubtless submitted and sworn to it. The *University of Oxen* promised King JAMES their Obedience, without any RESTRICTION OF LIMITATION † The Clergy of *Christ Church* stile him *James the Just* ‡; the Bishop of *Ely*, and his Clergy, tell him, *He is the B st of Princes* **. The Clergy of *Sarum* promised to serve him with their Lives and Fortunes ††. And the Clergy of *Bristol* put this transcendent Complement upon him, *That he was a Prince against whom there was no rising up, and only less than GOD himself* ‡‡. And so much for King James.

To bring this Business of *Loyalty* to an Issue, we Appeal to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, who have not only indulged Us our LIBERTY, but, since the UNION of the Two Kingdoms, have admitted the *North Britains* to a part of the Legislature; which they would not have done, had *Presbyterians* been all Rebels. We Appeal to his Majesty, who graciously receives Addresses from his Dissenting Subjects, and who has admitted some (who in their own Country are Members of a Presbyterian Church) to be Members of his most Honourable Privy Council: And Lastly, We Appeal to our own Practice, and the Experience of the whole Kingdom, Let a Survey be taken of all convicted Traytors for these last Thirty Years, and they will every one of them, from *Albton* to *Shepherd*, be found to be Catholics, or High-Church-men: whilst in all this Space there has not been so much as one Dissenter arraigned of High-Treason: Which is a Demonstration of our own Loyalty, and the petulant Malice of our Accusers. When a pragmatcal Philosopher would dispute in Mood and Figure, That there was no such Thing in

* *History of Passive-Obedience*, p. 109. † *London Gazette*, N. 2012.
 ‡ *Ibid.*, N. 2016. ** *Ibid.*, N. 2019. †† *Ibid.*, N. 2026. ‡‡ *Ibid.*, N. 2013.

Nature as Motion ; his *Respondent*, instead of giving a *formal Answer* to his *sophistical Cavils*, rose up, and walked about the Room, concluding him to be a *Mad-man*, not fit to be *disputed* with, who will argue against *Experience*. So may I say, if Mr. *A.* and his *Tribe* will go *Raving* up and down the Country, *That we are all Traytors and Rebels*, I shall only refer them to the *Experience* of the *Nation* for *Thirty Years* successively; and if this will not *stop* their *Mouths*, I shall look upon them as *fitter* for *BEDLAM* than a *sober Confutation*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the *First Edition* of this Pamphlet in *Exon*, the *Dissenters* have given an undeniable Instance of their *Loyalty*, and their firm Attachment to His MAJESTY's Interest and Family, when so many of the *High Church Faction* rebelled against Him. Had the Gentlemen at *Preston* succeeded in their Design, there is little Reason to doubt, but they would have serv'd King GEORGE as bad as *Cromwel* and *Bradshaw* did His Great Uncle. But these Things are so well known to the whole World, that I need not take any Notice of them.

F I N I S.



* * * * *

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